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Early Britain

Roman

Britain

The Rev. H. M. Scarth M.A.



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ROMAN BRITAIN.



EARLY BRITAIN.

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BY

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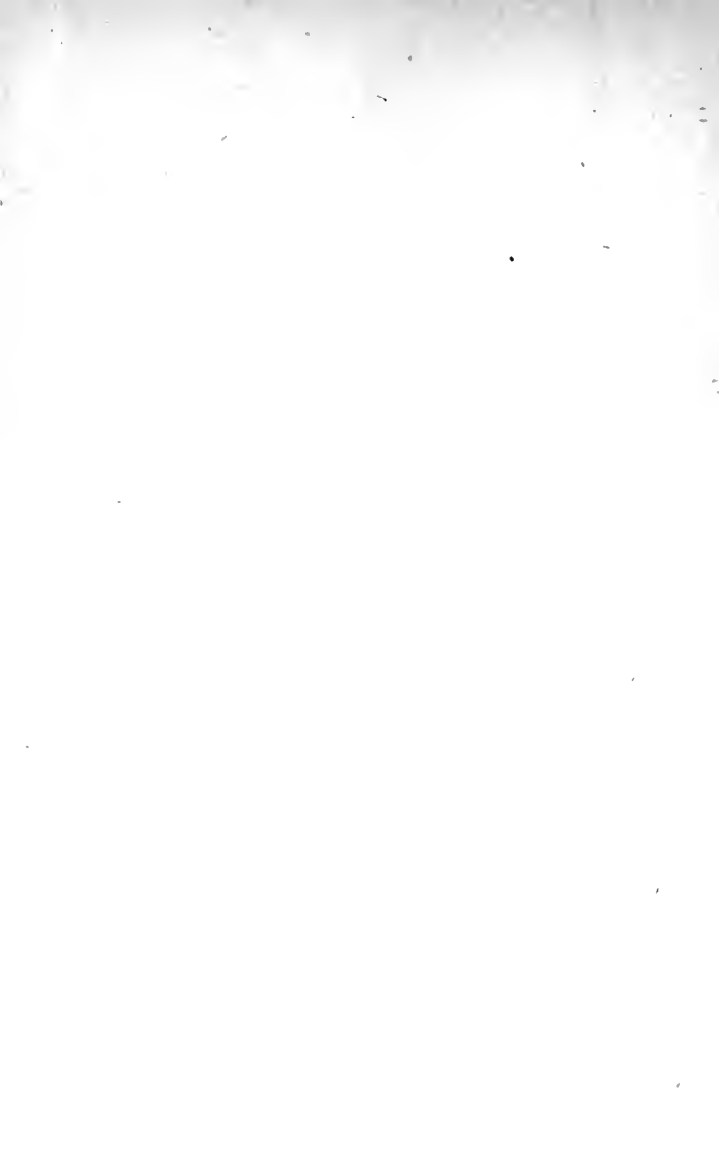
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TO THE
PRESIDENT, COUNCIL, AND FELLOWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,

The History of Roman Britain

IS DEDICATED,
WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF DEEP RESPECT,

BY
THE AUTHOR.



INTRODUCTION.

THE history of Roman Britain has never yet been treated popularly apart from other history, nor has the information derived from earlier writers been gathered into one volume in a simple form.

Horsley's famous work, the "*Britannia Romana*," though accurate, learned, and well arranged, is too cumbrous and difficult for ordinary readers, not to mention the many discoveries which have been made since he wrote it, now 150 years ago.

The "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," published by the Record Commission in 1848, contains most valuable matter, but is not confined to Roman history, nor does it contain a perfect summary of all that is known, as much has been found both in the way of inscriptions and coins since its first appearance.

The publication of the seventh volume of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum*," by the Royal Academy of Berlin, containing all the Roman inscriptions found in Britain up to the present time, is a most valuable aid to scholars, though it is not

complete, as the list is being enlarged by continual discoveries recorded in the "Additamenta," published by the same society.

These three are the great sources from which the compiler of a popular history must draw his matter ; but there is much to be gleaned from the papers published by the different archæological societies, and to go carefully through these must be the work of years, unless the writer has been from the first acquainted with their proceedings. This the writer of the present history confesses to have been, and to have drawn much from these sources, and he would fain now convert it to a practical purpose. He regards archæology as the handmaid of history, and as giving a life and colour to it, which can never be attained from a simple study of written history. The examination of Roman remains, the inspection of Roman coins, the study of Roman buildings, give a reality to history which no amount of reading and scholarship can supply. Scholarship and archæology should go hand-in-hand, and should be made subservient to the highest purposes.

It has been well observed that the power of looking into, and of understanding, a ruin, may be regarded as one of man's highest attributes ; and this can only be attained by placing in the hands of all a work which shall combine true history with sound archæology.

This it has been sought to accomplish in the present work ; but something further still has been aimed at,—viz., to show how every event that has happened in past ages has been overruled by the Almighty to man's eventual good.

The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for above 300 years, but the influence of that occupation extended very far beyond that limit. The contact of Britain with Rome began nearly a hundred years before the conquest of the island, and there seems reason for supposing that this had also some effect ; but the condition of Britain after the withdrawal of the Roman forces was certainly very different from what it was at their landing.

Although a dim mist hangs over the history of the island from the fourth to the seventh century, yet enough light can be brought to show that, though harassed by war and devastated by foreign enemies, civil culture and the teaching of a better faith still clung to the soil, until in after-ages they were revived and rekindled so as to become permanent. There is little doubt that a Romano-British population continued to exist in the island, and that culture, learning, and religion were not wholly extinct, as is often supposed, after Roman rule had ceased. This subject has been well worked out in a late publication by Mr. Coote, who, in his "Romans

in Britain," gives many weighty reasons in support of the opinion.

The writer hopes that the volume which he has prepared may quicken an interest in the careful study of Roman remains, and give to many a relish for the study of a period of our national history which has hitherto not been cultivated as it ought. The growth of the Roman power is closely connected with the spread of Christianity. It pleased Almighty God that the fourth great empire—the Iron—should have dominion just before the publication of His message of salvation to man, and we see how our own island was affected by that publication. The influence of Christianity in Roman Britain has possibly been underrated, but there is enough to show, as I hope has been done, that the knowledge and influence of Divine truth was by no means scantily diffused; it certainly never became wholly extinguished. God grant that it may be perpetual!

H. M. S.

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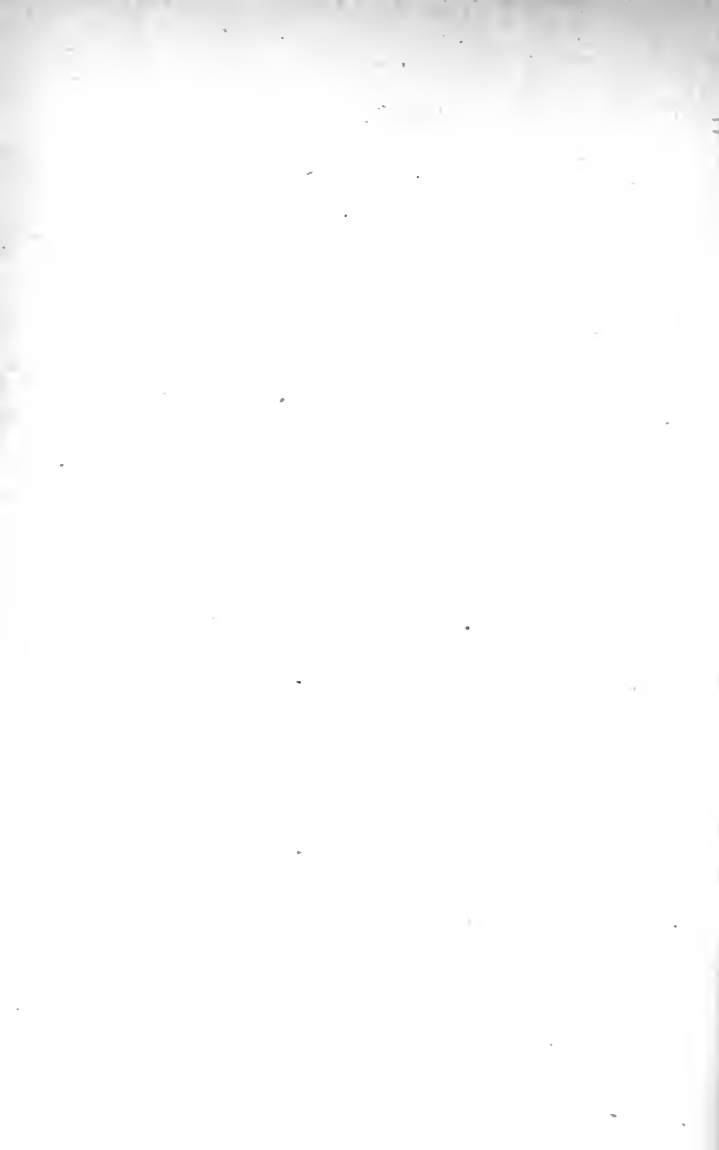
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ROMAN BRITAIN.



CHAPTER I.

Condition of the British Isles prior to the Roman Invasion.

THE condition of the British Isles prior to the Roman Invasion is a subject wrapt in obscurity. The notices of Britain are few, four or five only are reliable, and, though modern investigation has made many attempts to solve the problem, much must of necessity rest on conjecture.

In a short history of Roman Britain it is not possible to enter into the learned speculations which have been put forth, nor to inquire minutely into the results obtained from the exploration of barrows and monuments which seem to be pre-Roman. The reader must be referred to the researches of such writers as Prof. Rolleston, Canon Greenwell, Sir John Lubbock, Prof. Dawkins, and to the concise and clear little work of Dr. Latham, "On the Ethnology of the British Islands," and to the most recent work of Mr. Elton, "On the Origins of English History," and Mr. Evans's work "On the Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland."

The Celtic population appears to be the most ancient, but whether primitive or only succeeding a previous migration it is impossible to say. This branch of the human family falls into many subdivisions.

The oldest and purest portion of the Gaelic Celts is said to be found in Ireland, especially on the western coast.

Scotland is Gaelic in respect to its Celtic population; but the stock is less pure, on account of an infusion of Scandinavian blood.

The Isle of Man presents another variety, but not pure Celtic, as Norse blood has intermingled with the original Celt.

In Wales the population is still Celtic, though the race differs from the Irish and Scotch; and in Cornwall and Cumberland we have another variety of the Celt.

The origin of the Picts is doubtful. They may have been Gaels, or Germans, or Scandinavians.¹

Of the writers of antiquity who mention the British Islands, Herodotus, B.C. 445, speaks of the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands, at the extremity of Europe towards the West; and these have been supposed to be the Scilly Islands, but may have been the islands off the coast of Spain, where tin was also found. Pytheas, as far as can be gleaned from fragments of his diary which have come down to us, also mentions

¹ See "Ethnology of the British Islands," by R. G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S.; also "Celtic Britain," by Prof. Rhys, p. 149, S.P.C.K.

this trade, B.C. 450. Aristotle, B.C. 345, comes next, and mentions the Britannic Isles, Albion and Ierne, which lie beyond the Celti. Polybius, B.C. 160, is another. He mentions the Britannic Isles and the working of tin.

These are notices prior to the landing of Julius Cæsar. There is indeed the Orphic Hymn, attributed to Onomacritus; but the authority is doubtful, though it may, even if a forgery, date prior to Cæsar's invasion.

There seems good reason to believe that Pytheas coasted along a portion of the British Isles, and also landed in Britain, where he remained some time, and claims to have visited most of the accessible ports and taken astronomical notes. He has left calculations referring to different stations in Britain. He considered that the island was of a three-cornered shape, the south side lying obliquely near the coast of Gaul, and he estimated the entire circuit of the island at about 4,400 miles.

"He appears," says Mr. Elton,¹ "to have arrived in Kent in the early summer, and to have remained in Britain till after harvest, returning for a second visit after his voyage to the North. . . . In the southern districts he saw abundance of wheat in the fields, and observed the necessity of thrashing it out in covered barns, instead of using the unroofed floors to which he was accustomed in the sunny climate of Marseilles. 'The natives,' he says, 'collect the sheaves in great

¹ See "Origins of English History," p. 31.

barns and thrash out the corn there, because they have so little sunshine.' They make a drink by mixing wheat and honey, which is known as 'Metheglin,' and this is the first description we have of British beer, which the Greek physician knew by its Welsh name."

Pytheas appears to have known the eastern coasts from the Shetland Islands to the North Foreland, but not to have visited Ireland or the western regions of Britain. It is not improbable that he learned something of the tin trade, and may have originated the commerce which was soon after his time established between the Straits of Dover and Marseilles.

The ancient British coins appear to have been modelled on the pattern of Greek coins of the age of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great. The earliest may be assigned to a date between B.C. 150 and 200.¹

The historian Timæus, who was a contemporary of Pytheas and quotes his travels, mentions an island called "Mictis," lying at a distance of six days' sail from Britain, where tin is found, and that the natives make voyages to this island in their canoes formed of wickerwork covered with hides. Tin was only dug up in the west of Cornwall and Devon, so that Mictis cannot have been at a distance from the coast of Britain; and to make sense of this passage Mr. Elton supposes, with much probability, that the voyage was a coasting voyage from the tin-producing

¹ See "Coins of the Ancient Britains," by Mr. Evans, pp. 25, 26.

district to the Isle of Thanet, where the tin mart was established for the merchants of Gaul.

The invasion of Julius Cæsar, B.C. 55, gives us the first reliable account of Britain, and succeeding accounts of Roman writers are taken from him, though further particulars are added by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, both of whom lived in the age of Augustus. The sources from whence these writers derived their information were probably the geographical writers of Alexandria and the Phœnician and Gallic traders.

Cæsar's account is necessarily confined to Kent, the district known to him. Diodorus's account relates to Cornwall, who describes the working of tin near the promontory of Britain called Bolerium.

Strabo in like manner describes the Cassiterides, which lie near the Ocean towards the north of the Haven Artahi, and says that formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on the traffic in tin, but the Romans afterwards obtained a knowledge of the locality and engaged in the traffic.

There were two ways for the earliest information respecting Britain to have passed to the main land, the one through Gaul, and the other by the way of the Mediterranean, and by means of merchants trading from Tyre, Carthage, or Gades, or through merchants trading to Marseilles.

The account given of Britain by Diodorus is probably three hundred years earlier than that of Cæsar. He says:—"they who dwell near the promontory called Bolerium are fond of strangers, and from intercourse with foreign merchants, civilised in their habits.

These people obtain tin by skilfully working the soil which produces it. When they have formed it into cubical shapes, they convey it to certain islands lying off Britain, named Ictis. From hence the merchants purchase tin from the natives and carry it into Gaul, and journeying through Gaul they convey their burdens on horses to the outlet of the river Rhone."

There were, therefore, two points of contact between the continent of Europe and Britain, both in the south, the one east and the other west, Kent and Cornwall. The ancient name of the one district was Canticum, a Latinised form of Kant, the old Celtic name, the other Damnonium. The manners and habits of the people of these two parts of Britain were probably widely different. Strabo and Diodorus speak of the men of Cornwall as having long beards, and wearing a black dress. Cæsar speaks of the inhabitants of Kent as resembling the Gauls in habit and manner of living.

Very limited are the notices of their superstitions and modes of worship.

To the inhabitants of Cornwall have been attributed the worship of the goddess Demeter, or Ceres, according to Artemidorus and Strabo. We know from Cæsar, that a different worship, conducted by priests called Druides, prevailed in other parts of Britain, and that Mona or Anglesea was the chief seat of Druidism.

When Britain first became known to Cæsar, Kent was a country tributary to a Gallic chief, Divitiacus,

king of the Suessiones, a people of Soissons, in Champagne, and this shows a close connexion with Gaul.

This sovereignty was limited to the Belgic branch of the Gauls.

The Veneti, a people of Britany, who were true Galli and a maritime people, were assisted by the Britons against Cæsar, and do not seem to have been under the sovereignty of Divitiacus.

It was in consequence of the assistance rendered to the Continental Gauls that Cæsar made preparations to invade Britain. This, at least, was his plea for invasion, and there seems no reason to doubt the fact of aid having been given from Britain. Before entering upon that event, the dawn of our national history, we are called upon to ascertain what traces are known to exist of the primæval inhabitants of Britain. This is a subject which has of late years received much attention, and not without certain results.

First, then, there are the earthworks, or fortified camps, remaining on the tops of high ranges of hills, or in elevated positions. These are very numerous, and it is no easy matter to discriminate between the works of different ages ; but antiquaries are generally agreed that the most elaborate and the most strongly-fortified are generally the most ancient. These appear to have formed the central positions of tribes, who resorted thither in times of danger, where they could defend themselves with advantage : one of the most perfect and most elaborately-fortified may

be seen near Dorchester—it is called Maiden Castle ; but each tribe seems to have been possessed of more than one stronghold as a place of security. Many exist contiguous to the estuaries or navigable rivers, and seem to have been adapted for commerce as well as for places of defence and security.

The Worle-hill Camp over Weston-super-Mare, in Somerset, is a very remarkable instance of primitive fortification. The ramparts are composed of dry walling of vast thickness and very careful construction, although irregular in form.

Dolebury Camp in Mendip is another instance of a primitive fortress, still existing as it did when occupied, it may be, two or three centuries before the coming of Cæsar, and when probably the lead-mines of Mendip were worked by the Belgic Britons. Wales, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, as well as the Cotteswold Hills in Gloucestershire, and, indeed, all the high lands of Britain, give innumerable instances of hill-forts, which, although occupied at later periods, as is known by remains found in them, yet present a rude method of construction different from the forts of the Romans, or from those of a later people.

To the camps we must add the barrows which are found so abundant on the downs of Wiltshire, the wolds of Yorkshire, and the high lands and moors of Derbyshire. These have been of late years carefully opened, and the contents examined and classified, and all these show them to be the sepulchres of a rude and primitive people, addicted to war and

the chase, yet not without certain marks of rude refinement.

The many chambered tumuli opened give no indications of Roman occupation, though interments of that people have been found in the mounds outside the chambers, and are of later date.

The examination of camps and barrows has enabled us to ascertain more accurately the kind of weapons used in war by the primitive inhabitants of Britain.

These have been brought together from every part of the island, and arranged and classified, and compared with those of tribes still existing in a savage state.

The weapons preserved to us are chiefly of the bronze period, though older ones of flint and stone are not uncommon.

Every variety of the implements called "celts" have been found in the Britannic Isles, chiefly of bronze; and their use seems to have been various, sometimes serving as axes, sometimes as spades, or chisels, driven by stone hammers.

On some of the coins of Cunobeline, a seated figure is depicted at work, forging a vase and holding a hammer like a narrow axe.¹ A fragment, apparently of a rudely-formed saw of bronze, was found with several celts, and a sword, at Mawgan, in Cornwall. Bronze sickles have been found in Somersetshire, and have also been dredged up out of the Thames. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the first century B.C.,

¹ See Evans, "Ancient British Coinage," p. xii. 6.

tells us that the Britons gathered their harvest by cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in underground repositories. Corn and decayed cereals are found on the floors of hut-circles—the remains of the ancient British dwellings, which are either within the area of their fortified camps, or within a short distance of them. Ancient British villages formed of these hut-circles, and having marks of former cultivation around them, may be seen on the Wiltshire downs, and in Somerset and the wolds of Yorkshire, as well as on the Northumberland and Welsh hills.

The warlike weapons before the coming of Cæsar seem to have been of bronze, as well as stone clubs and arrows tipped with flint. The form of the bronze sword is leaf-shaped, the knives and spears are elongated, and the metal is capable of taking a very fine edge. Curved knives and daggers are also found, their hilts ornamented with amber, which seems to have been well known to Britain before the Roman invasion. Some ancient British shields of bronze have also been found, and also helmets, but rarely. The bucklers are of circular form, and have a central boss, as well as a variety of ornamentation. These seem to have remained in use for a considerable period after the Roman invasion. Bronze helmets have but rarely been found, but one is preserved in the British Museum.

Even in the time of Severus, A.D. 193–211, the Britons, according to Herodian, made no use of helmets or cuirasses, though they wore an iron

collar round the neck, and an iron belt round the body, and regarded these as ornaments and signs of wealth.¹

Bronze collars, or torques, are not unfrequently found in the British Isles. Bronze trumpets have also been found in Ireland, which are Celtic, and in Scotland, but are very rare in Britain; one was found in the River Witham in Lincolnshire, and it probably belongs to a period not far removed from the Roman invasion.

Classical writers mention the war-trumpets of the Celtic population of Western Europe.

Polybius speaks of innumerable trumpeters in the army of the Celts, and Diodorus Siculus says that the Gauls used them. The British *carnyx* was probably represented by the Roman cavalry *lituus*.

Stone moulds for casting celts, daggers, and spear-heads, have been found in Britain, and in Ireland and Scotland, which proves that these weapons were of native fabrication.

Necklaces, and articles of female attire, as well as glass beads, are found in tumuli, instances of which are given in Sir R. C. Hoare's work on "Ancient Wiltshire."

The war-chariots of the ancient Britons are recorded by Cæsar, and seem to have particularly attracted his attention on account of the skill shown in their management, and their adaptability to the purposes of warfare. They seem to have been pecu-

¹ See Herodian, lib. iii., c. 14; and Evans, "Ancient Bronze Implements," p. 355.

liar to Britain, but few remains of these have been found. The remnant of one was discovered on Hamden Hill, near Montacute in Somerset, and appears, according to Mr. Evans, to be of late Celtic date.

The defensive arms of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain who opposed Cæsar's landing seem to have been—

The round target and the upright shield.

The leaf-shaped sword and the dagger.

The lance with bronze head.

The bow, and arrow pointed with flint, or, it may be, bronze in some instances.

The heavy club, loaded with stone, attached by a thong of hide, and also the sling.

The celt—used as a battle-axe—of which there were different types.

The torque, which protected the throat and neck, and

The armillæ, shielding the vulnerable part of the right arm, which used the weapon of defence.

Some of the most curious and interesting remains of our British ancestors are the megalithic structures, which still exist in this island, and, though their date is disputed, yet their very early origin appears most probable.

Of these the largest and one of the most ancient is Avebury in Wilts, and the next in size and magnitude of its structural stones is Stonehenge, in the same county.

There are others of smaller dimensions, as Stanton Drew, in Somerset; Rollright, in Oxfordshire; and

circles of megalithic stones are found in other countries, as in Cumberland and on Dartmoor in Devonshire and in Derbyshire ; but the most stupendous in plan and in the size of the stones which still remain is Avebury. The stones, or rather the grouping of three together under the name of a trilithon, which forms the principal feature of Stonehenge, are evidently of later date than Avebury, as they show the use of tools, and those at Avebury are simply huge masses of stone, not bearing the mark of any tool at all. We may account these to be the remains of a primitive population. Barrows containing remains are abundant around Avebury. But the ancient earthworks—mounds and ditches—which remain in the south and west of Britain are equally worthy of mention, and to be ascribed to times preceding the coming of Cæsar. They have been ably treated of by the late master of Caius College, Dr. Guest, in the "Proceedings of the Archæol. Institute" (Salisbury Volume).

These are ascribed to the Belgæ who came over to Britain before the coming of Cæsar, and were a more civilised race than those dwelling further inland. They seem gradually to have extended their conquest, and to have marked this extension by a fortified line of earthwork, having the ditch always to the northward. Combe Bank and Bockerly Ditch south of Salisbury ; Old Ditch, north of Amesbury ; and Wansdyke, which extends from Savenake Forest in Wilts to the neighbourhood of the Bristol Channel near its junction with the Bath Avon, are supposed to be indications of successive Belgic

conquests. The last of these boundary-lines is seen in a very perfect condition as it passes over the Wiltshire downs not far from Marlborough, and must have been a work of long and continuous labour.

The religious rites of the Gauls, and the gods they worshipped, are mentioned by Cæsar, and from him we draw the first detailed information respecting the superstitions of the ancient inhabitants of Britain.

We have no right to doubt his statement, as he had ample opportunity of knowing what was practised in Gaul, and could obtain information about their traditions.

He tells us that Mona or Anglesea was accounted the seminary of the Druidic class, which formed one of the two leading bodies among the Gallic nations. His account is very circumstantial, and is followed by Strabo. Cicero makes incidental mention of the Druid Divitiacus.

Strabo says that among the Celts three classes were held in honour—the Bards, Seers, and Druids.

The *Bards* were musicians and poets.

The *Seers* performed sacred rites, and were naturalists.

The *Druids* dedicated themselves to physiology and ethical philosophy, and were considered the most holy on account of their judgment. Judicial power seems to have been lodged with them. They taught that the souls of men were incorruptible, and passed from one body to another, and that the elements of fire and water will hereafter get the mastery of the world.

They are described as carrying torques of gold upon their necks, and bracelets upon their arms and wrists, and those most held in esteem as wearing bright-coloured vestments embroidered with gold. They offered human sacrifices, and it was not until the Roman power gained the ascendancy that these were prohibited.

Diodorus Siculus, B.C. 44, calls the Druids "Saronidæ." Pomponius Mela, in the time of Claudius, has described their rites and superstitions, which have also been pictured by the Roman poet Lucan; and Pliny the Younger, in his "Natural History," has given very minute details of their ceremonies.

Tacitus, A.D. 80, as we shall see hereafter, gives a graphic account of their opposition to the Roman arms when the Isle of Anglesea was invaded by the Romans, and Suetonius mentions their extinction. Therefore we have accounts of the Druids which extend over a period of 400 years, commencing with the date of Cæsar's invasion, and extending to the time of Constantius and Julian, A.D. 360.

It is probable that Druidic influence lingered longer in Britain than in Gaul, and may have continued to a very late period in remote parts of the island.

The Britons seem to have had a coinage of their own, as large numbers of ancient British coins have been found in this island in various parts, and the types are different from those found in other countries, and appear to be older than the time of Julius Cæsar.

Cæsar says that they used bronze or iron pieces as money, but the reading of this passage is disputed, and most MSS. read : "Utuntur aut ære aut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo."¹

Strabo states that the commerce of Britain was carried on with foreign nations by means of barter, and so does Solinus, and each of these statements may be correct, for the parts of the island described are different ; but the Britons probably had an extensive metallic currency, and the money found in Britain was probably coined in the national mints. The Gauls had a metallic currency previous to the Roman invasion, but there are coins found peculiar to Britain, though there is a resemblance between some of the British and Gallic coins.

The reign of Cunobeline may be considered as the time when the British coinage reached its highest perfection. After the expedition of Claudius and the establishment of the Roman power, the native British coinage disappears.²

There is reason to believe that minerals were worked by the Britons at the time of the Roman invasion, and that these workings were only put under tribute by that people, and the manner of working them improved. There are remains of ancient British

¹ See Mr. Hawkins' "Num. Chron.," vol. i., p. 13 ; also note in Mon. "Hist. Brit.," to "Remarks on Anc. Brit. Coins" ; and Mr. Evans, "Coins of Anc. Brit.," p. 18.

² See "Monumenta Historica Britannica" ; also Evans, "Coins of the Ancient Britons."

settlements on the Mendip Hills in Somerset, which appear to have been connected with very early lead-workings, and the date of the earliest Roman pig of lead found there is just after the Romans occupied the country, which seems to show that the workings were already in operation.

Many specimens of Early-British pottery have been obtained from barrows, or found on the sites of British villages.

It is in general rudely made, and sun-dried, not baked in a kiln, and the forms are peculiar. Many fine specimens are preserved in museums, especially in the British Museum, which contains the collection made by Canon Greenwell. The ornamentation consists of parallel lines, zig-zags, crosses, dots, and other marks apparently made with the hand, using a sharp-pointed stick for the purpose, and also by using a twisted cord. They vary in size; some are small, apparently for drinking-cups, but some are of a large size, standing two feet high. Cups are often found in interments with skeletons.

We have but scant means of judging of their woven articles of clothing, but they seem to have possessed coarse cloths as well as dressed skins, and even fine clothes were in use among the higher orders.

The aspect of the country must have changed considerably between that time and now, a period of 2,000 years. Forests have been cleared, and rivers have altered their course; fens have been reclaimed, and land has in places been gained from the sea as well as submerged, so that the coast-line has altered,

and it is not improbable that islands may have disappeared; but the mountains, hills, and principal rivers must still retain their general ancient aspect. In the valley of the Forth, alterations have taken place in the relation of the land to the sea to the extent of 25 feet. The skeleton of a whale, with a harpoon beside it, has been found 25 feet above the present tides of the Forth.¹

Ancient British trackways are still to be traced, which were formed before the coming of the Romans. These are often worn into deep hollows, especially near the camps and places of occupation. We know from Cæsar that timber entered into the construction of their primitive fortresses.

The British boat by which the rivers were navigated was the coracle, still to be seen in use on the Severn and the Wye. The form of these boats attracted the notice of Cæsar; but canoes, hollowed out of trunks of trees, have also been found.

The population of the maritime portion of Britain is described by Cæsar as very large, and he states also that their buildings on the coast of Kent, resembled those of the Gauls. But his account is only partial, and relates to the south of Britain, and chiefly the county of Kent.

Yet in that county, and in Essex, are found remains of underground dwellings, as well as store-chambers for grain, and caves used as places of refuge in time of danger. These caves have vertical entrances, and

¹ See Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland"; also Lyell's "Antiquity of Man."

are excavated in the chalk. They are found also in Wiltshire, and are believed to be the dwellings of an early race previous to the coming of Cæsar. Chalk flints were also quarried, which were split and worked into tips for arrows, and made into rude knives, used before bronze and iron became common.

"The most renowned caves of Kent and Essex are so dug as to be lofty chambers, separate from each other, as is the custom all over Europe, Asia, and Africa, for stores and granaries. Sometimes they are thickly clustered where much storage was required, but individuality in each case was preserved."¹

For further particulars relating to the ethnology and habits of the Britons before the Roman conquest reference must be made to Prof. Rhys' book on "Celtic Britain," S.P.C.K.; and to Mr. Elton's "Origins of English History," ch. v.

¹ See account of "Deneholes and Artificial Caves with Vertical Entrances," by F. C. I. Spurrell, Esq., "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxix.

CHAPTER II.

Cæsar's Invasion of Britain, his preparations, and the probable point of his departure and of his landing. The Tribes of Britain known to Cæsar, and his description of the geographical position of the island.

FROM the landing of Cæsar in Britain we date the commencement of our national history. This is one of the great events in the life of the nation which renders every particular not only interesting but important ; yet, the exact point from whence he set sail from Gaul, and the point of his landing in Britain, have been, and still are, matters of controversy. We have in "Cæsar's Commentaries" a circumstantial account of the enterprise. The "Portus Itius" or "Ictius," in the country of the Morini, is mentioned by him as the point from whence he sailed ; the particulars of the voyage are there given, and the description of his landing,—yet, owing probably to the alteration of the coast-line on either shore, much difference of opinion has arisen both as to the point of departure and place of landing.

Wissant, or Witsand,¹ near Cape Grisnez, was probably the point of departure, and the coast near Deal the place of his landing.² Boulogne, however, and

¹ "Witsand, so called in mediæval writings, owing to the white sand surrounding it."

² See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxi., p. 222.

Hythe are also stoutly contended for, as the points of departure and landing. The date of Cæsar's setting sail is fixed about the 25th August B.C. 55. His force consisted of two legions, the 7th and 10th, and the number of men amounted probably to from eight to ten thousand. His means of transport were eighty ships of burthen, and a certain number of galleys or "long-ships." He had previously caused the coast of Britain to be surveyed by an officer, C. Volusenus, and had obtained from merchants and traders all the information he could procure respecting the nations of the island, of which they seemed to know little, or were unwilling to impart what they knew.¹

The Britons, however, had become aware of his intentions, and prepared to meet him on his landing, but first sent ambassadors from many states to endeavour, by promises of submission, to avert his coming. Cæsar, however, though the season was far advanced, determined to make a descent on the island, and ascertain, as far as he could, the nature, extent, and population of the country, and, if possible, overawe the inhabitants into submission to the Roman power. He seems to have had but a slow voyage across the Channel, as he was ten hours in making the passage. He probably steered for Dover, where he found the cliffs occupied by defenders, and was obliged to find a safer and more convenient landing-place. This was effected with much difficulty. He has graphically recorded the

¹ "Bel. Gal.," lib. iv., 20, 21.

gallant conduct of the standard-bearer of the 10th legion on this occasion. The Britons, notwithstanding their gallantry, were driven back, and the troops, except the cavalry, were landed and enabled to fortify themselves in a safe position. The Britons, in their first contest with the Romans, having been beaten, sent ambassadors, and among them Commius the Atrebatian, a native prince and friend of Cæsar, to treat for peace.

This man, who had been previously in Gaul with Cæsar, had been sent over into Britain by him to communicate his commands to the native princes, but had been seized by them and put in bonds, and was now sent back as a mediator on their behalf.

The Britons gave hostages for good behaviour on their part, and promised more, but when peace was supposed to be settled, Cæsar's cavalry having been prevented landing by adverse winds, and the smallness of his force becoming known, the Britons, not liking to see their harvest reaped by Roman soldiers, broke their truce and attacked the legionaries. This led to another battle, in which the Britons again got the worst, but not without loss to the Romans; and their transports were also damaged by a sudden storm. These had to be repaired, and as soon as this was effected Cæsar deemed it wise, after receiving hostages from the Britons, to return to Gaul. This was his first descent upon Britain, where his stay did not occupy longer than three weeks.

His second descent upon the island was more completely organised. This was made the following

summer, and probably towards the latter end of July. He carried over with him between thirty and forty thousand men. He had eight hundred ships built, of a new construction, so as better to meet the difficulty of landing the troops. This seems to have been effected near the former place of disembarkation. The Britons, affrighted at the great number of vessels, did not, as they had done before, oppose Cæsar's landing, but took refuge on their hills and amid their forests, and waited to oppose him at his passage of a river as he marched inland.¹

This river was probably the Stour, which Cæsar describes as twelve Roman miles from the place of his landing. Here the Britons were defeated and one of their strongholds taken.² It is described as strongly fortified by nature and art, but not strong enough to resist the skill and valour of the 7th legion.

The advance of Cæsar was retarded for a time by the destruction of a portion of his fleet, and he had to repair the ships, and to secure them by bringing them into a safer position; this he fortified, so as to make it one enclosure with his camp. He then set forward again, and, having encountered the Britons and driven them back, advanced to the Thames, where they had congregated under the command of Cassivellaunus to dispute his passage. The advance of the Roman army had brought the intestine wars

¹ "Bel. Gal.," lib. v., S. 9.

² Horsley, in the "Brit. Rom.," considers this to have been at or near Canterbury, the Roman Dorovernum; but this is doubtful.

of the British tribes to an end for a time, and they made the most powerful and successful warrior among them the commander-in-chief of their united hosts.

Cæsar tells us that the Thames divided the territory of Cassivellaunus from the maritime states, about eighty miles from the sea, and, therefore, probably his kingdom extended over Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire.

The river was passable on foot only at one point, and there he found large bodies of men prepared to dispute his passage.¹

The bank was defended with sharpened stakes fixed in front and under the water. Orosius has recorded that nearly the whole ford under water was set with stakes. Bede, in his "Eccles. Hist.," also speaks of them, and says they were existing in his day.

Camden fixes the point of Cæsar's passage at a place called "Coway Stakes," near Walton-on-Thames, but the exact place where Cæsar made his passage has, like that of his landing, been a subject of dispute.

The ancient course of the river, and its fords and shallows, have much altered since Roman times by the construction of weirs. It is probable, however, that it was near this place that the passage was effected. It was apparently a fortified ford before the time of Cæsar, and at that time additional means were taken to prevent his passage.² These, however, were unavailing, as the gallantry of the Roman

¹ "Bel. Gal.," lib. v., 18.

² See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxiii., p. 160.

soldiers overcame all obstacles, and the Britons were driven from their strong position.

After this defeat Cassivellaunus did not attempt to dispute Cæsar's progress, but reserved a large force of chariots for harassing his march, while Cæsar devastated the country as he advanced.

Cæsar now approached the country of the Trinobantes, and on his way thither must have passed through the middle of Hertfordshire into Essex.

The people of Essex, or Trinobantes, are described as the strongest state in that part of Britain. They sent ambassadors to Cæsar, and promised obedience. Mandubratius, the son of their former king, had fled to Cæsar when in Gaul, and sought his protection, because his father, Imanuentius, had been slain by Cassivellaunus in one of the domestic wars. The example of the Trinobantes was followed by the neighbouring states, the Cenemagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi.¹ From their ambassadors he learned that the "oppidum," or fortified hold of Cassivellaunus, was not far distant from the place where hostages had been delivered up and corn supplied to his army. Marching thither with the legionary soldiers, he found the position strong and well fortified, but, attacking it at two points, the discipline of his soldiers soon overcame all obstacles, and the Britons hastily evacuated their stronghold, leaving there a large quantity of cattle, while many of the Britons were taken and slain in the pursuit.

¹ "Bel. Gal.," lib. v., 21.

The account given by Cæsar of this ancient British fortress, though very concise, enables us clearly to recognise many of the same kind of strongholds still remaining in parts of the island which were formerly forest. The timber is gone, but the foss and vallum of which he speaks still remain. The "oppidum" of Cassivelaunus is generally believed to have been situated where the modern town of St. Alban's now stands.¹ An ancient ditch can still be traced surrounding a considerable area on the banks of the River Ver, from which the Roman town of VERULAM took its name. This town, which probably originated in the camp of Cæsar, grew into an important city in Roman times. It stands on the opposite side of the River Ver, and is still known for its Roman remains and the foundation of a theatre which have been laid open. The abbey of St. Alban's, lately raised to the dignity of a cathedral, was built out of the ruins of the Roman town. While Cæsar was carrying on his operations against the oppidum of Cassivellaunus, that leader was stirring up the four kings of the Kentish tribes to attack the naval camp of Cæsar. Their names were Cingetorix, Carvillius, Taximagulus, and Segonax. They were, however, repulsed by the Roman guard, and one of their nobles, called Lugotorix, was slain. This failure, together with the losses he had sustained and the defection of some of the allied states, caused Cassivellaunus to sue for peace, and Cæsar, knowing that the winter was approaching,

¹ See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxii., p. 229.

and feeling that his presence was wanted in Gaul, accepted his submission, received hostages for good conduct, and then embarked his army, leaving Britain, as far as he had penetrated, subject to the Roman power.

His description of the island shows considerable knowledge of its form and dimensions, considering the great difficulty there must have been in obtaining accurate information.

He describes it as triangular, lying on the one side towards Gaul, another side running in a westerly direction towards Spain, and as having an island near it called Hibernia, about half its size, situated about the same distance from Britain as Britain from Gaul. He also mentions Mona and other islands as lying contiguous. The remaining side, he says, bears north, having an angular inclination towards Germany, and he estimates the entire circuit of the island at two thousand Roman miles. He mentions the inhabitants of Kent as the most civilised, and like the Gauls in their modes of life, but those in the interior as existing chiefly by their flocks and on milk, and clad in skins.

Pliny mentions a corselet of British pearls dedicated by Cæsar in the temple of Venus at Rome; and Tacitus and Ælian that the British Ocean produced pearls golden-coloured, but with a dusky hue. The pearl-trade, however, does not seem to have been extensive, or the pearls of much value, like those obtained from the Red Sea.

CHAPTER III.

Condition of Britain after Cæsar's landing and prior to the campaign of Aulus Plautius.

THE stay of Cæsar in Britain during his second campaign was not longer than two months, probably not more than forty-five days. The exact line of his march is uncertain, but he seems to have followed the course marked out by an ancient British trackway, along which he could find a supply of wood and water for his army. He tells us that the traffic of that day from Gaul passed into Kent, which was the maritime state best known.

From Kent Cæsar passed into the territories of Cassivellaunus, and penetrated to his capital. The Catyeuchlani, or Catuvellauni, are mentioned as one of the ancient British tribes, and Verulam was probably their capital.

The Trinobantes are represented by the modern county of Essex, and their capital was Camulodunum, not far from Colchester, at Lexden, where very extensive earthworks still remain.

These were north of the Thames.

South of the Thames were the Atrebates, whose capital seems to have been Silchester; and further west the Dobuni, in Gloucestershire, whose capital was Cirencester, afterwards the Roman Corinium. More west were the Belgæ, two of whose towns were

Old Sarum (the Roman *Sorbiodunum*) and Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*). The Belgæ, as we have seen, effected an early settlement in Britain, and had driven forward a still earlier migration, but what in Cæsar's time were regarded indigenous.

It is almost a matter of impossibility to settle the exact boundaries of these ancient tribes, but there are indications still remaining of successive conquests, and partitions of territory¹ marked out by boundary dykes.

In the country of the *Catuvellauni* many British coins have been found which bear the name of *Tasciovanus*, together with the name of *Verulam*. This leads to the belief that *Tasciovanus* was king of the *Catuvellani*, and that the money was minted at his capital, *Verulam*.

Some of his coins have the word *Sego*, supposed to be an abbreviation of the name *Segontium*, the ancient name of *Calleva*,² now *Silchester*, and this leads to the supposition that *Tasciovanus* may have conquered the country of the *Atrebates*, and minted money in their capital. Coins have also been found in that district inscribed *Epaticcus*, son of *Tasciovanus*.

In *Essex* numbers of coins have been found with the name of *Cunobelinus*, son of *Tasciovanus*. These coins were minted at *Colchester*. There are also coins inscribed with the name *Dubnovellaunus*, and it has been inferred that this was a successor to, and perhaps a descendant of, *Mandubratius*, the prince

¹ See "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xxiii., p. 166.

² Cæsar, "*Bel. Gal.*," ch. v., 12.

whom Cæsar made king of the Trinobantes, and that he was expelled by Tasciovanus, and by his son Cunobelinus.

On the south of the Thames, also, are found coins bearing the name of Commius, and Tin or Tinc (name not clear), son of Commius.

It has been supposed that Commius was the Atrebatian whom Cæsar sent over to Britain, where he was said to possess great influence. He afterwards became an enemy to the Romans, and fled over to Britain, where he seems to have succeeded in establishing a principality among the British Atrebates, and transmitted his dominions to his sons. These inferences are supported by the evidence of the "*Monumentum Ancyranum*," which mentions the names of British kings who fled to Augustus and sought his protection.

In treating of the condition of Britain at the time of Cæsar's landing and its state subsequent to the subjugation of the south and west in the days of Claudius Cæsar, it is necessary to go back to the times preceding Julius Cæsar's landing.

There seems reason to believe that Divitiacus, king of the Suessiones in Gaul, first led into Britain the Belgic tribes which settled in the valley of the Thames.¹ Cassivellaunus, who opposed Cæsar, was probably descended from this prince, or his representatives, and may have been an ancestor of Tasciovanus, whose name is found upon British coins.

¹ See "*Bel. Gal.*," lib. ii., 4; also the Papers by Dr. Guest, in "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xxiii.

The Catuvellauni, fifty years later, had asserted their supremacy in South Britain. The invasion of Cæsar checked this progress ; it was the defection of the other tribes which led Cassivellaunus to submit to Cæsar, and compelled him to acknowledge Mandubratius, whom he had driven into exile, as king of the Trinobantes. Cæsar's invasion, therefore, relieved the weaker tribes from the dominion of the Catuvellauni.

There is a great boundary dyke from St. George's Hill to the River Thames which is supposed to mark the limit of the Atrebates ; but before half a century had passed away we find the Catuvellauni in possession of the south bank of the Thames, and penetrating into Essex, A.D. 43. This was the condition of South Britain when the Roman power again asserted itself in Britain. The historian from whom we derive information of this period is Dion Cassius. He informs us that a prince named Bericus induced Claudius to invade Britain, A.D. 43, *i.e.*, within a century of Cæsar's first landing on the island. Bericus is supposed to be the "Verica, son of Commius," whose name is read on British coins which have been found in Surrey.

The Roman historians or poets who allude to Cæsar's expeditions into Britain admit that he opened a way to the future conquest ; but Augustus did not care to follow out his policy by adding this island to the Empire, and Tiberius followed in the same course. It has indeed been alleged that Augustus did contemplate an expedition, but neither Tacitus nor Suetonius, who are the most

trustworthy writers, make any mention of it. Caligula, who succeeded Tiberius, formed the design, but never put it into execution.¹ He, however, received Adminius, the son of Cunobeline, who had been expelled from Britain by his father. Dion relates the absurd parody of Caligula invading Britain. Strabo, the Roman geographer, who wrote in the time of Augustus, speaks of Cæsar's two descents upon Britain, but that he effected no real conquest of the island ; nevertheless, he gained two or three victories, and brought away hostages, and slaves, and such other booty. "At the present time," he says, "some of the princes there have by their embassies and solicitations obtained the friendship of Augustus Cæsar, dedicated their offerings in the Capitol, and brought the whole island into intimate union with the Romans. They pay but moderate duties, both on the imports and exports from Keltica, which are ivory bracelets and necklaces, amber, vessels of glass, and small wares ; so that the island scarcely needs a garrison ; for, at least, it would require one legion and some cavalry to enforce tribute from them, and the total expenditure for the army would be equal to the revenue collected ; for, if a tribute were levied, of necessity the imports must be diminished, and at the same time some danger would be incurred if force were to be employed."²

¹ See Tac., "Vit. Agric.," c. 13.

² The inscription at Angora, in Asia Minor, which is a summary of the acts of Augustus during his reign, informs us that British kings sought his protection. Suetonius, in his

From the same source we learn that there were four places of transit from the coast of Gaul to the island of Britain,¹ viz., from the mouths of the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne.

Strabo says of Britain, "The greatest portion of the island is level and woody, although many tracts are hilly. It produces corn, cattle, gold and silver, and iron, which things are brought thence, and also skins and slaves, and dogs sagacious in hunting; the Kelts use these, as well as their native dogs, for the purposes of war. The men are taller than the Kelts, with their hair less yellow; they are slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, we ourselves saw at Rome some youths who were taller than the tallest there by as much as half a foot, but their legs are bowed, and in other respects they were not symmetrical in conformation. Their manners are in part like those of the Kelts, though in part more simple and barbarous; inasmuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, but are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states amongst them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Kelts. Forests are their cities; for, having enclosed an ample space with felled trees,

life of Caligula (44), makes mention of Adminius, a son of Cunobeline, having fled to Caligula in Gaul, to ask aid from the Romans. This was also done by Bericus. See Dion Cassius, lx., 30.

¹ Strabo, "Geo.," v., 2.

they make themselves huts therein and lodge their cattle, though not for a long continuance."

Cæsar recognised the names of several tribes of Gaul in the colonies which they had settled in Britain,¹ therefore the Gauls had occupied a considerable portion of the sea-coast, but in Cæsar's time had not advanced very far into the interior. "They were probably (as Mr. Elton observes) not yet established in the East Riding, or westward of the Romney Marsh; but their settlements were spreading all round the estuary and up the valley of the Thames. . . . The four kingdoms of the Cantii stretched across East Kent and East Surrey, between the Thames and the Channel, and the whole south-eastern district was under their power. But it should be remembered that a great part of this region was then unfitted for the habitation of man. The great marshes were still unbanked and open to the flowing of the tide, and several hundreds of square miles were covered with the dense forest of Anderida."

This forest is supposed to have covered most of the south-eastern portion of Britain, and to have been connected with the forests of Hampshire, and may have reached into Devonshire.

"The Gaulish kingdoms must have lain to the east of the forest, skirting the sea upon the south, and bounded on the north by the district of the Fens and tidal morasses, which at that time received the spreading waters of the Thames."²

¹ See "Bel. Gal.," v., ch. xiv.

² See "Origins of English History," ch. v.

CHAPTER IV.

Campaigns of Aulus Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, and
Didius Gallus.

THE reign of the Emperor Claudius forms an important epoch in the history of Roman Britain. He it was who, through his lieutenant Plautius, opened the way to the subjugation of the whole island, and obtained permanent military possession of the western and midland parts.

The campaign of Aulus Plautius must be accounted most important in respect to its results, and we learn from the historian, Dion Cassius, the particulars of it. He informs us that a prince named Bericus, who had fled to Claudius for protection, induced the Emperor to invade Britain. Plautius was the general selected, and he mustered together a large army in Gaul. But a mutiny of the troops broke out when they were ready for embarkation, and this delayed for a time their departure. When this was quelled they sailed in three divisions, most probably from Gesoriacum, or Boulogne (A.D. 43).

From Tacitus we learn that four legions were engaged in the early operations of this war, the 2nd, the 9th, the 14th, and the 20th, together with cavalry and auxiliaries, so that the army probably consisted of not less than 50,000 men.

Gesoriacum was the terminus of the great highway, or military marching road, which had been constructed by Agrippa across Gaul, and it thus became the chief "Portus Britannicus," or principal means of communicating with Britain. It seems probable that the Roman fleet directed its course to the Kentish coast, and landed the troops at Dover, Hythe, and Richborough. They met with no opposition on landing, which may have come unexpectedly upon the Britons, after the account of the mutiny among the Roman troops had been brought over to Britain, and led them into a false security.

When, however, the landing proved to be a reality, they did not attempt a battle, but hid themselves among the woods and marshes, and the Roman historian tells us that Plautius had much trouble in finding them. At length they were brought to an engagement, and the sons of Cunobeline, Caractacus and Togodumnus, were defeated in succession.

This success enabled Plautius to win over a portion of the Boduni, who seem to have been the same people as the Dobuni, the inhabitants of Gloucestershire, who were then under the dominion of the Catavellauni.

It is conjectured that the Romans penetrated to Silchester (the Roman Calleva), and then a British stronghold, and, leaving a garrison there, penetrated as far as Cirencester (afterwards the Roman Corinium). From thence Plautius is supposed to have marched his army down the valley of the Thames, and followed an ancient British trackway (in the line

of what was afterwards the Icknield Way) until he came to Wallingford.

Dion Cassius tells us that "when they had come to a certain river, which the Britons did not think the Romans could pass, and were encamped on the opposite bank, Plautius sent forward a band of Kelti accustomed to swim with their arms over rapid rivers, who attacked them unexpectedly, wounding the chariot-horses, and so throwing them into disorder.

These were followed by Roman troops under Vespasian and his brother Sabinus, who served under Plautius, and they completed the rout of the Britons.

The day following, however, the contest was renewed with obstinate determination on the part of the Britons, so that the conflict was doubtful, until Cneius Osidius Geta completely defeated the Britons, though at the eminent risk of being captured himself.

The Britons then withdrew to the lower marshes of the Thames for greater security, but were followed by the Romans, at much hazard, on account of the nature of the ground. By the aid, however, of the same Keltic soldiers, the Romans again routed the Britons, but by no means vanquished their spirit, though their leader, Togodumnus, was slain.

Plautius was too cautious to advance further, but, having secured his position and the country he had acquired, he sent for Claudius to come in person, according to instructions given him by the emperor himself. Claudius crossed over from Boulogne, and joined the army encamped on the Thames, took the

command, crossed the river, and encountered the Britons who opposed his advance ; and, having routed them, took Camulodunum the royal city of Cunobeline. Thus the Romans had penetrated into Essex. Claudius succeeded in obtaining the submission of some of the tribes, and the others he left to be brought into subjection by his lieutenant, and then returned to Rome, after a stay in Britain of not more than sixteen days.

Elephants are stated to have accompanied the army of Claudius, as well as the second campaign of Julius Cæsar.

The vast earthworks still remaining at Lexden, one mile from Colchester, give some idea of the strength and extent of the capital of Cunobeline taken by Claudius.

It is probable that the last contests before the taking of Cunobeline's stronghold by Claudius took place near the point where the River Lea flows into the Thames. In those days the country, now reclaimed, was marsh and forest, the Thames not being confined by banks and dykes as at present. The valleys of the Thames and the Lea must have presented the appearance of estuaries at the return of every tide. On the higher ground above the junction of these rivers, the city of London, the metropolis of Britain, now stands. We have no mention of a British city existing there previous to the campaign of Plautius, and it has therefore been supposed that the camp he formed, while awaiting the coming of the emperor, originated the great mercantile city, which

in the course of ages grew up to be the capital of the British Empire.¹

An inscription preserved in the garden wall of the Barbarini Palace at Rome commemorates the victories of Claudius in Britain. It had formerly been placed above a triumphal arch, erected to the honour of the emperor by the Senate and people of Rome. An inscription has been preserved which records the presentation of a crown of gold to a centurion, named L. Gavius Silvanus, by the Emperor Claudius, for his conduct in the Britannic war,—

“Donis donato a divo Claudio bello Britannico torquibus, armillis, phaleris, corona aurea.”² Plautius also celebrated at Rome his victory, by an exhibition in the Campus Martius of the taking of a British oppidum and the surrender of British kings.

The campaign of Plautius gave the Romans the supremacy of the south and west of Britain from the Thames to the Severn, and seems to have fixed them permanently at Colchester and Gloucester, which places from that date became two very important stations.

Tacitus mentions that the campaign of Plautius gave the first rise to the fortunes of the Emperor Vespasian, who commanded the 2nd legion, his son Titus serving under him as military tribune. We learn from Suetonius that he fought with the enemy thirty

¹ See paper by the late Dr. Guest, in the “Journal of the Archaeological Institute,” vol. xxiii., p. 180.

² See Coote’s “Rom. of Britain,” p. 17, where authorities are cited.

times, and subdued, or reduced to obedience, two powerful nations, which seem to have been the Belgæ and the Damnonii; and Eutropius mentions that the islands called the "Orcades," as well as the Isle of Wight, were brought under the Roman power.

Claudius in consequence of his British victories, gave his son the name of *BRITANICUS*; and a Roman pig of lead has been found near the mines, or ancient lead workings in the Mendip Hills in Somerset, bearing the stamp of *Britanicus*; another pig of Roman lead bears the name of *Vespasian*. It seems, therefore, that the lead-workings of this part of Britain were probably in operation at the Roman conquest, and were then put under tribute.

Plautius was succeeded in his command by *P. Ostorius Scapula*, as *proprætor* and legate. The Roman power was now firmly fixed in Britain, but the Britons were by no means yet brought under Roman subjection.

The *Iceni*, the inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, seem to have interfered with the *Trinobantes*, who had been taken under Roman protection. This led to the strengthening of the Roman position at Colchester (*Camulodunum*),¹ where very extensive remains of Roman occupation still exist.

British kings brought into alliance with Rome seem, in certain instances, to have acted as imperial legates,

¹ "*Agric.*," xiv.

as appears not only from the words of Tacitus, but from an inscription found in Sussex, which mentions Cogidubnus as "Legatus Augusti in Britannia."

It was, therefore, the attack upon one of these that led to a renewal of the war, and Ostorius, by prompt and active movements, succeeded in defeating the Britons, and formed a line of camps along the course of the Severn and Avon rivers ; much discussion has arisen about the position of the River Avon, as there are more rivers than one that bear that name in Britain, but traces of camps can be found along Upper or Warwickshire Avon, as well as along the Cotteswold Hills bounding the valley of the Severn.

Camulodunum became a colony, held probably by the 14th legion, and Glevum or Glo'ster is known also to have been a colony from an inscription found in Bath. These two points secured the possession of the first portion of Britain, known as Britannia Prima.

The Iceni had come into alliance with the Roman people, and had not therefore suffered by war ; but they became alarmed, no doubt by the fear of a permanent possession of their country by the Romans, who had placed garrisons in the best positions, and they therefore instigated the neighbouring tribes to rebellion. This led to a pitched battle, at a place supposed to be Burrough Hill, near Daventry, where the nature of the ground agrees with the description given by Tacitus. The spot afterwards became the Roman station of Bennaventa.

'The Iceni being humbled by this defeat rather than subdued, and the neighbouring states which wavered being overawed by the victory of Ostorius, the latter led his forces among the Cangi, a tribe which seem to have been located in the westerly parts of Carnarvonshire, whose capital appears to have been Segontium, or *Caer Segont*, near Carnarvon, and not far distant from the Ganganorum Promontorium of Ptolemy. Tacitus describes the army as approaching the coast which lies opposite Ireland, and this will accord with the position assigned to the Cangi. Pigs of lead have been found in this locality with the Roman stamp, and the lettering upon them indicates the name of this people.¹

A rising next broke out among the Brigantes, a large powerful people occupying the north midland portion of Britain, and extending on the east from the Humber to the Tyne, and on the west from the estuary of the Dee (*Seteia Æstuarium*) to the Solway Firth.

The range of country included the mountains of Westmoreland and Lancashire, as well as the plains and moors of Yorkshire.

The rising was, however, quelled by the promptitude of the Roman general, who brought his forces out of North Wales, and, having pacified the Brigantes, prepared to march against the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales.

¹ See Camden's "*Britannia*" (Gough's Edition), vol. iii., p. 45.

The Silures are described as a bold, untractable people, very unwilling to submit to Roman domination, and located in a mountainous and difficult country, and, moreover, having much confidence in their leader, Caractacus.

The account of this war as given by Tacitus is one of the most interesting episodes in our own national history. The courage and skill of the British commander, the bravery of the people, the final overthrow of their army and the capture of the family of their chief, his subsequent betrayal, and his noble conduct when brought to Rome and placed in presence of the Emperor Claudius,—all give a striking idea of the native population of the Principality of Wales, and of their prince.

But before this expedition could be undertaken it was needful for the Roman general to secure what he had already conquered; and therefore the colony of veterans was planted in Essex, at Camulodunum, on the border of the country of the Trinobantes, to protect the eastern part of Britain against any rising of the Iceni.

It was hoped thus to overawe the Iceni and to bring the others into harmony with Roman laws and customs.

It is not easy to point out the line of march by which Suetonius approached the country of the Silures. It is probable that he advanced from the north, as Tacitus tells us that Caractacus chose the country of the Ordovices, or North Wales, on account of its strength and difficult nature, for opposing the

Roman general.¹ Neither can the exact point be fixed where the battle took place which broke the power of the Silures, and led to the captivity of their leader.

The site has been fixed at Coxwall Knoll, on the borders of Herefordshire,² and also at the Breidden Hill in Shropshire, at the foot of which flows the Severn,—a very formidable position, but in case of a defeat not affording an easy retreat to the Britons, as the mountain stands out alone, and is backed by a level tract, then, no doubt, covered with forest. It appears that the British forces were not only assailed in front, but, when they were forced from their strong position, were cut off in their retreat.

The slaughter and defeat of the Britons was complete, and this brought the upper valley of the Severn, as well as the lower, under the Roman dominion.

The remains of an extensive Roman city, Uriconium,³ about twelve miles lower down the Severn, which grew up in later times, are still to be traced, and many remains have been found there, as well as legionary monuments. This Roman city probably had its rise at this period.

The Romans had also planted a fortified camp at the southern extremity of the Silurian kingdom, known as Venta Silurum, and a line of Roman road can be traced between these two points.

¹ "Archæological Journal," vol. xxi., pp. 125, 126.

² See Hoare's "Geraldus," introductory note, p. ci.

³ See Wright's "Uriconium."

The second legion was long stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk ; this is proved by the monumental inscriptions still preserved there.¹

The result of this war brought much glory to the commander, as well as to the reign of the Emperor Claudius, who has also made it memorable by his clemency to the British chief, who, undaunted by his misfortunes and undismayed by Roman grandeur when he stood before the emperor, charged his conquerors with ambition and lust of power, and, while he manfully pleaded his cause, showed no servile spirit. He was set at liberty together with his family at the command of Claudius.²

The spirit of the Silures was not, however, broken by this defeat. They obtained some successes, and had to suffer another defeat after a doubtful contest, but even after this they surprised and cut off two auxiliary Roman cohorts, and the Roman general, Ostorius, seems to have died wearied out by the obstinacy of the contest. He was succeeded by Avitus Didius Gallus, who survived the Emperor Claudius.

We have in Tacitus the account of Cartismandua, Queen of the Iceni, and of the quarrel which arose betwixt herself and her husband Venusius, and are told that, after [some internal discord and conflict, the Romans espoused her cause ; this led to further hostilities, in which the Romans were victors, though in the end, as we are informed, Venusius remained in possession of his kingdom.

¹ See Lee's "Isca Silurum."

² See Tac., "Ann.," lib. xii., c. 37.

CHAPTER V.

Events in the Reign of Nero—Summary of the chief
British Tribes.

THE Roman power in Britain, though it continued to extend itself, suffered a very heavy reverse in the reign of Nero. He succeeded to the empire A.D. 53, and Suetonius the historian mentions that he had contemplated abandoning the island by withdrawing the Roman forces, and was only withheld from doing so by respect to the memory of Claudius. But the energy of Roman rule seems to have been relaxed, though Suetonius Paulinus, the legate, attempted the subjugation of Mona or Anglesea.

This was the seat of Druidic worship, and it may be that he sought to quell the spirit of the Western Britons by destroying Druidic influence, which was great among the people.

He prepared flat-bottomed boats for the transport of the infantry. The cavalry were enabled to ford the Menai Straits at low water, and to follow the foot soldiers.

The point at which they crossed is supposed to have been near Porthamel, between Pwll y Fwch and Llanidan, below which is a ford.¹ The army

¹ See Roland's "Mona Antiqua."

most probably marched from Deva, or Chester, which was occupied by the 20th legion, and where many Roman remains have been found. This invasion of Mona may have led to the formation of the permanent station at Chester.

The landing of the forces in Anglesea was followed by a severe struggle, in which the Romans were at first paralysed by the unwonted spectacle which met them,—women with torches, in the likeness of Furies, inflaming the ardour of the soldiers, and the Druids, in their priestly robes, imprecating curses,—but being stimulated by their leaders, the Romans rushed on and soon overthrew all opposition. This victory brought the Isle of Anglesea to submission, and it was partially secured by garrisons; while the sacred groves, which had nurtured superstition and kept alive national feeling, were everywhere destroyed.

Next followed a serious reverse which almost destroyed the Roman power and nearly drove it out of Britain, at least for a time,—this was the revolt under Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni. Misconduct and oppression on the part of the Roman colony planted at Colchester seems to have led to the disaster. This was not unlikely to occur under the government of Nero. Prasutagus, the King of the Iceni, had bequeathed his kingdom jointly to his widow and daughters and to the Roman Cæsar, hoping thus to preserve his dominion and his house; but his policy did not succeed, as his possessions were wasted and his queen and daughters dishonoured.

This led to a rising on the part of the Iceni, who induced the Trinobantes to join them. The temple to the deified Claudius at Camulodunum, regarded as the citadel of slavery, as well as the rapacity of the priests connected with it, and the tyranny of the centurions and soldiers, stimulated the rising, and added fuel to the discontent. Prodigies and omens, it is said, were not wanting, by which the Romans were alarmed and the Britons encouraged. No precautions had been taken to intrench the Roman colony, and, when driven to extremity, the soldiers were obliged hastily to fortify themselves in the temple. The Roman commander also being absent gave additional advantage to the Britons, and when the colony applied for aid to the procurator, Catus Decianus, who was probably then at London, a body of only 200 badly-armed troops could be sent to their aid, which proved but a slight support to the veterans at Camulodunum.

The women and children could not be sent away, and thus the whole colony of Camulodunum became an easy prey to the infuriated Britons.

The 9th legion, which was hastening to the relief of the colony, had its infantry cut to pieces, and the cavalry only escaped with their leader, to take refuge in a fortified camp.

Suetonius had to march out of North Wales to the relief of Verulam and London, but was unable to succour either of these towns, which fell a prey to the Britons; and seventy, or, as it is also stated, eighty thousand of the citizens and their allies were

slaughtered.¹ The forces under his command consisted of the 14th legion, the vexillaries, or picked soldiers, of the 20th, and some auxiliaries, amounting together to not more than ten thousand men. With these he resolved to give the enemy battle. He chose a spot where he was well protected on either side, and backed by a wood, so that he could not be surrounded by the much larger force of the Britons, which was entirely in his front. The legionary soldiers formed the centre, with the cavalry on the wings. Boadicea is represented as riding in her chariot through the ranks of her army, inciting the valour of her troops, and Suetonius as urging the Romans to maintain their character for discipline and valour, before he gave the signal for battle. The issue was not long doubtful; solid strength and discipline prevailed against numbers and ill-disciplined valour, and the Britons were routed with tremendous loss, occasioned partly by becoming entangled in the rampart formed by the wagons which had brought their wives and children. The Romans lost about four hundred killed and as many wounded. Boadicea, feeling that all was over, either died of grief or by poison. This overthrow broke the power of the Iceni and their allies. Suetonius was reinforced from Germany, but for some time after this victory we read of little active

¹ See Zephiline; also Tacitus, "Ann.," lib. xiv., c. 33. Tacitus states seventy, and Zephiline eighty thousand, which must include the slaughter at Colchester as well, and in the country around the destroyed cities.

movement, except the punishment of a few suspected tribes by laying waste their lands.

The exact site of this important victory has never been satisfactorily ascertained. It must have been somewhere in the line of road between London and Colchester, a double-trenched Roman camp near Messing, succeeded in after-times by the station of Canonium, has been fixed upon, but this is uncertain.

In tracing the progress of the Roman arms in Britain we are occasionally aided by the discovery of inscribed stones found on the sites of camps ; these, combined with the scanty notices which remain in the Roman writers, help us to trace the gradual advance of their armies and the disposition of their forces. Hitherto less care than they deserve has been taken to preserve such records, but their value can hardly be over-rated.

The account of the expedition of Claudius was contained in the books of the "Annals" of Tacitus which are wanting ; and we have, therefore, only incidental or abbreviated accounts given of the transactions in Britain at that time. We are, therefore, dependent chiefly on the "Agricola" of Tacitus for information respecting events which followed the reign of Nero ; we are, however, certain of the founding of the colony of Camulodunum¹ for the purpose of subduing the Iceni, and have reason to think, from inscriptions found there, that it became the permanent quarters of the 14th legion.

¹ "Agric.," 14.

This legion was afterwards sent into Germany, and did not return to Britain.¹ A memorial of it is found at Wroxeter (Uriconium), and it was employed in the war against the Silures and Ordovices. Venta Silurum (Caerwent) and Isca Silurum (Caerleon-on-Usk) were fortresses erected to curb the Silures in the south-west, and the latter station, as we know from bricks and inscribed stones, afterwards became the permanent location of the 2nd legion. Though no inscribed stones have been discovered at Gloucester, yet the remains of very strong Roman walls, forming a quadrilateral station, still exist there; and this city, which became a colony,² formed, probably, the standing quarters of the 2nd legion before it was transferred to Caerleon. We should, therefore, have the 14th legion stationed at Colchester, and the 2nd at Gloucester, the southern portion of the island being thus held secure.

When Vespasian succeeded to the empire a more vigorous effort was made to reduce a further portion of the island.

The campaign of Suetonius against Mona had led to the placing of a fortified camp at Deva, or Chester, which in due time also became a colony. This was on the northern frontier of the Silures and Ordovices, who were completely conquered by Julius Frontinus.³ The Brigantes had now to be brought under rule, and Petilius Cerialis began a further movement. But, to do this effectually, he was obliged to have a base

¹ Tac. "Hist.," iv., 68, 76.

² See Bath Inscription.

³ "Agric.," 17.

of operation, and we find such a point at Lincoln (Lindum), which also became a colony.¹ Lindum and Deva lie in the same parallel of latitude, and secure two opposite sides of Britain, as Camulodunum and Glevum had previously done; but conquest had been pushed forward, and it became, therefore, needful to secure what had been recently acquired.

By means of these two stations, the one communicating with the Wash (Metaris Æstuaris), the other with the Irish Channel (Segeia and Belisama Æstuar.), communication could be kept open between the two seas, and the fleets act with the land forces.

The study of the lines of Roman road, formed as the conquest of the island proceeded, gives a good insight into the marches of the army.

We have, first, the landing-places for troops at the three ports—Richboro' (Rutupæ), Dover (Portus Dubris), and Lymné (Portus Lemanus); a straight road from each of these points meets at Canterbury (Durovernum), and then runs direct to London. From thence we have three roads, one direct to Colchester, a second direct to the Severn, at Aust, beyond Bristol, with a branch dividing from it at Speen (Spinæ) for Gloucester, and a third (the Watling-street) leading into Wales, and communicating with Uriconium and Deva.

These were marching-roads, and probably formed in the track of the army as it had penetrated into the

¹ See Inscip. (Henzen, 5,793); also "Archæological Journal" (for 1881), vol. xxxviii.

island, and these roads may have followed the course of preceding British trackways.

Another road, called the Foss, runs direct from the west of England, and the country bordering on the Severn, to Lincoln, and seems to have afforded communication between the forces stationed to watch the Silures in the south-west, and those stationed at Lincoln to control the Brigantes on the east. Inscriptions recording soldiers of the 2nd legion have been found at Lincoln, as well as at Caerleon and Caerwent. So it is probable that some part of that legion had at one period been stationed there.¹ We may, therefore, probably date the foundation of the Colonia Lindum to the time of Vespasian, or about A.D. 70. The colony seems to have been planted on or near the site of a still more ancient British city.

The Emperor Nero ceased to reign A.D. 68, and Vespasian succeeded to the empire the following year. When serving in Britain, in command of the 2nd legion, he had, during his stay, reduced two of the strongest tribes and the Isle of Wight. These were probably the Regni and the Belgæ, including the subordinate tribe of the Durotriges. We are left in uncertainty whether these conquests reached into Devonshire, among the Damnonii. The "*proximæ partes Britanniae*" were reduced by the legates Plautius and Ostorius, under whom Vespasian served. Suetonius did not become legate until A.D. 58 or 59. We have a military road stretching from

¹ "*Corpus Inscript. Lat.*," vol. vii, pp. 185, 186.

London to Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum) which is about the centre of the island, and from thence to the estuary of the Severn, where it is joined by the Avon. At Silchester are the remains of a very important city, where four Roman roads meet, and one of these goes direct to Bitterne, the ancient Clausentum, near to Southampton. At Bitterne, inscribed stones have been found, and other Roman remains. This is connected with another Roman road, which goes first to Winchester (Venta Belgarum), thence to Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum), and from thence passes through the mineral district of the Mendip Hills to Brean Down, on the Severn, near Weston-super-Mare. These roads probably indicate the courses of Roman conquest in the south and west of Britain. Sorbiodunum was an ancient British fortress, and many such are to be found still remaining both in Wilts and Somerset. The Roman coins found among the Mendip Hills go back to a very early date.

The tribes reduced to submission prior to the reign of Vespasian, though not wholly subjugated, were the following :—

The Cantii (Kent), chief towns Durovernum (Canterbury), Durobrivis (Rochester).

The Regni (Sussex), chief town Regnum (Chichester).

The Belgæ (Wiltshire and Somerset), chief town Venta Belgarum (Winchester).

The Atrebatii (Berkshire), chief town Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester).

The Durotriges (Dorsetshire), chief town Dunum (Maiden Castle, near Dorchester).

The Dobuni (Gloucestershire) extended easterly from the banks of the Severn till they joined the subordinate tribe of the Cassii, the Thames being their boundary to the south.

Their chief towns were :—

Salene (Droitwich), Branogena (Worcester), Alauna (Alcester), Corinium (Cirencester), and Glevum (Gloucester).

The River Cherwell, in Oxfordshire, probably separated the Dobuni from the Cassii, and the Severn from the Silures and Ordovices.

The Iceni possessed all the country from the River Stour (which separated them from the Trinobantes on the south), to the Humber on the north (which separated them from the Brigantes). They were subdivided into two tribes, called the Cenomanni and the Coritani (Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire). The Trinobantes occupied Essex, their chief town being Camulodunum (Lexden, near Colchester).

The position of the Cangi is not so well ascertained. They seem to have been north of the Ordovices, Segontium (Caernarvon) being their capital, and to have occupied the present county of Cheshire, or thereabout.

The Ordovices and Silures, with a dependent tribe—the Demetæ—occupied North and South Wales.

The Catuvellauni peopled Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire.

The Brigantes held Yorkshire, with their capital city Isurium (Aldborough).

The island then, as far as the border of the Brigantes, seems to have submitted to the Roman power, and to have received garrisons of Roman troops up to the time of Vespasian.

To this list must be added the Isle of Wight, and the Isle of Anglesea, which had been partially, though not completely, reduced. The towns best known up to the reign of Vespasian were Verulamium (St. Alban's), Londinium (London), and Camulodunum (Colchester); and the rivers, the Thames, the Severn, and the Avon.

CHAPTER VI.

Events in the Reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

THE reign of Vespasian opens a new era in the history of the Roman conquest of Britain. It was the campaign of his legate, Agricola, that fixed upon Britain the Roman rule, which continued for three centuries after his departure. In the beautiful sketch which Tacitus gives of the life of that celebrated commander, we have very interesting details respecting Britain, written with great clearness and elegance.

At the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, Julius Frontinus had reduced the Silures, and, if we may judge from the nature of the country and the number of hill-fortresses in South Wales, this must have been no light task.

Agricola had served under Suetonius Paulinus. He was then sent over to command the 20th legion, A.D. 69, and afterwards made legate of Britain by Vespasian, about A.D. 78. His first successes were against the Ordovices of North Wales, followed by the complete conquest of Anglesea, which Suetonius had left unfinished. This was Agricola's first campaign. He was not only a warrior, but a statesman as well, and knew how to govern. He began by

redressing the grievances of the provinces he had conquered, and reforming abuses, and so prepared the way for peace.

His first achievements were made the year of his arrival, with forces hastily drawn together. His second campaign began in the summer following, with an army organised and prepared for service. We can only conjecture the direction of his marches by the roads afterwards formed for military purposes. He seems to have meditated an attempt to reduce Hibernia, or Ireland. This is just touched upon by Tacitus, but, if contemplated, it was not carried out. The Brigantes, inhabitants of Lancashire and Yorkshire, were a nearer and more formidable enemy. It is probable that the army marched against them in two divisions—one division making Lindum (Lincoln), and the other Deva (Chester) its base of operations. The territory of the Brigantes, including the smaller tribe of the Parisii, reached from sea to sea. The country on either hand was difficult; but he gave the enemy no rest, and soon brought them to submission, so that they suffered garrisons to be placed among them sufficient to hold the country in safety. To this campaign we may perhaps date the rise of York (Eboracum) on the River Ouse, which afterwards grew into great importance. Aldborough (Isurium) was the chief town of the Brigantes, and it afterwards became a Roman town, as is proved by the Roman remains and inscribed stones which have been found on the site.

York became the standing quarters of the 9th

legion (Hispanica); but afterwards, in the time of Hadrian, the 6th was quartered there, the 9th having been destroyed, or incorporated with the 6th.¹

Some have supposed that, after reducing Anglesea, Agricola quartered his troops on the borders of Cheshire and Lancashire, and that in the following year (A.D. 79), having passed the Mersey, the Ribble, and the Lune, he proceeded to Carlisle, and drew a line of forts between that point and Newcastle-on-Tyne. These were afterwards strengthened and rendered permanent by Hadrian and Severus, when the celebrated wall connecting the two seas was completed.

Certain it is that we have a succession of stations joining Chester with Carlisle, and these are united with a well-defined military road. Again, on the eastern side, we have a succession of stations, with a military road, uniting York with the station at the mouth of the Tyne, and also with the same river higher up, nearer to Hexham. By these routes the country of the Brigantes was penetrated on either side. There are also roads which cross the island, one from York to Ribchester (Coccium), on the Ribble, the other from Catterick (Cataractonium) to Brougham Castle (Brocarium), near Appleby. These military cross-roads have stations all along their course.

Isurium, now Aldborough, was the capital of the Brigantes. Celtic remains still exist in the immediate

¹ See "Corpus Inscript. Lat.," vii., p. 61.

vicinity, and have been found within the precinct of the ancient city. This afterwards became Roman ; and a Roman fortified town, with all the usual accompaniments of public buildings and baths, superseded the British. The walls can still be traced, and the remains of public structures exist to the present time. We may date their rise probably to the time of Agricola, as he is stated to have diffused among the Britons a taste for Roman manners and refinements.¹

The Roman colony at York, about sixteen miles to the south of Aldborough, in after-times took precedence of this ancient city, when it became an imperial residence.

The third year of Agricola's rule in Britain subjugated a further part of the island. He began his campaign from the line of forts which he had formed across the island, and penetrated into Scotland as far as the River Tay. Here he also fortified the country he had acquired by a line drawn from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde. He seems to have marched his army in two divisions, proceeding on the eastern side through Roxburghshire, and on the western through Annandale, until he took possession of the isthmus between Edinburgh and Dunbarton.

In subsequent times these forts which he constructed were connected by a continuous wall, or intrenchment, called the Wall of Antonine. This formed the province of Valentia, in the same

¹ See "Reliquiæ Isurianæ," by H. E. Smith, 1852.

manner as the kingdom of the Brigantes, when subjugated, had become the province of Maxima Cæsariensis.

Two well-defined Roman roads probably mark the direction of Agricola's marches; the one traversed the country of the Ottodeni, the other that of the Selgovæ.

The first, on the eastern side, is known as the Northern Watling-street, which, at Hunnum (Halton Chesters) divides into two branches,—that called the Devil's Causeway approaching the sea-coast on the east, the other passing through Riechester (Bremenium) to the Eildon Hills, reaches the Frith of Forth at Crammond; the second, or western road passes from Carlisle through Dumfries and Lanarkshire in the direction of Lanark, and reaches the Frith of Clyde beyond Paisley, at Camelon, on the water of Carron. This became afterwards a Roman town.

Agricola spent his fourth summer in securing the country he had acquired. The neck of land between the Frith of Clyde and the Forth is only thirty miles across. During the winter of 80–81 he laid his plans for fortifying this isthmus.

The principal fort erected by him seems to have been at Barhill, near the town of Kirkintilloch, nearly the centre of the isthmus. This year the Emperor Titus died, and Agricola lost his steady friend. He was succeeded by Domitian, under whom Agricola retained his command four years longer. During this time he carried his arms as far as the Grampian Mountains, and caused his fleet to sail northward, to

ascertain the nature and extent of the coast. The fleet sailed round the Pentland Frith, and thus, for the first time ascertained for certain that Britain was an island.

During part of the voyage the land forces kept up communication with the fleet, and marched in three divisions. The Caledonii determined, however, not to submit to Roman rule without a struggle. They fell upon the camp of the 9th legion by night, and killed the sentinels, penetrating into the very camp, which would have been taken, had not Agricola, who was watching the motions of the enemy, come to the rescue. The enemy were put to flight, but saved themselves in the fens and forests. The Romans were emboldened by this victory, but the Britons were not daunted by their failure. They placed their families in secure spots and banded themselves together to fight for their country. They had concentrated their forces in the region of the Grampian Mountains, to the number of 30,000, under their leader Galgacus. Before the battle he addressed his soldiers, eager for the conflict : Agricola did the same ; and the armies met. Agricola placed the auxiliary foot soldiers, amounting to 8,000, in the centre, and 300 horse on the wings. The legions were kept in reserve in case of need. The Britons are described as using large swords and small shields, which they handled with much dexterity, turning aside the missile weapons of the Romans, and casting volleys of darts in return. At the command of Agricola, three cohorts of the Batavi and two of the Tungri were

ordered to attack them, sword in hand, at close quarters. The long swords of the Britons were unable to cope with the short thrusting sword of these troops, and they began to waver ; after a bloody contest, the Romans prevailed, till night ended the pursuit.

The Britons lost 10,000 men, and the Romans 340, also the commander of a cohort.

At the close of the summer Agricola led his army into winter-quarters in the country of the Horesti, the district beyond the estuary of the River Tay.

The Roman fleet is stated to have circumnavigated the whole of Britain, sailing from Portus Trutulentis (probably a mistake for Portus Rutupensis), Richborough, and returning thither in safety. The year following witnessed the recall of Agricola from Britain. We have thus recorded what may be called the first complete subjugation of Britain. The island, from the county of Kent to the country beyond the estuary of the Tay, had been reduced, and garrisons placed at all important points, so as to hold the island securely. The fleet had also ascertained the harbours on the coast. From this time we may date the formation, or more properly, the commencement of the completion of those Roman roads which intersect the island in every direction.

The work of their formation must have begun in the reign of Claudius, and was carried on so long as the Romans held possession of the country. Their course can be traced with great certainty, as many portions still remain, and some of our great roads have been formed upon their ancient line. The sta-

tions also, at fixed points, correspond to the distances mentioned in the "Itinera," or marching-routes, which have been preserved in the "Itinerary of Antoninus"; Roman milestones, or "milliaries," have been found in every county, and from those which contain the imperial titles we learn the date of construction or reparation of the roads. These will form the subject of a subsequent chapter, also the "Pretentura," or lines of connected forts, already mentioned, by which the conquered portions were successively protected.

It may be well that we should picture to ourselves the condition of the country through which Agricola forced his way. "It was a land of uncleared forest with a climate as yet not mitigated by the organised labours of mankind." The province of Britain, in course of time, became a flourishing portion of the Roman Empire, and is described as "Britannia Felix," from whence came corn-fleets, and where the pastures were rich in cattle, and the hills covered with flocks of sheep; but when the island fell under the Roman power it was little better than unreclaimed forest and morass, the sky stormy, the air chilly even in summer, and the sun with little power to dispel the mists. The trees gathered continual rain, the crops grew rankly and ripened slowly, and the atmosphere was overcharged with moisture. Fallen timber obstructed the rivers and streams, which were wasted in reedy morasses, and only the downs and hill-tops rose above the perpetual tracts of wood.

"The work of reclaiming this wilderness began in

the days of Agricola. The Romans felled the woods along the lines of military roads ; they embanked the rivers and threw causeways across the morasses, and the natives complained that their bodies and hands were worn out in draining fens and extending the clearings in the forests.”¹

¹ See Mr. Elton's "Origins of English History," ch. ix.

CHAPTER VII.

Events in the Reigns of the Emperor Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius to the Time of Severus.

WHEN Agricola resigned his command, the Roman power was supreme in Britain. The nation had come under Roman rule, and subject to tribute, and, so long as that tribute was paid, we have reason to think the natives were not interfered with. Little is said of Britain by Roman historians in the time of Nerva and Trajan for a period of thirty-five years. The Caledonii and other northern tribes seem during this time to have recovered their strength, and to have overrun the northern province conquered by Agricola.

When Hadrian formed his famous barrier, reaching across the island from Carlisle to Newcastle, the northern portion beyond, which had been subdued by Agricola, seems to have rejected Roman sovereignty.

Hadrian began his reign A.D. 117, and visited all the provinces of the Roman Empire, and Britain among them. We have proof of this from lapidary inscriptions, as well as historical testimony. The grand monument of his visit is the continuous line of fortification drawn by him across the island from Carlisle to Newcastle, by which he connected the

forts previously raised by Agricola. Spartian, the historian, mentions that this was eighty miles in length, and it remains to the present time, under the name of "the Roman Wall." This great work is so striking an evidence of Roman power, that it will be necessary to enter into a more detailed description of it. It consists of three portions, a stone wall, deep foss and earthen ramparts, also a military road. Hadrian probably first constructed an earthen rampart, cast up out of the deep trench which he caused to be dug on the side towards the barbarians, whom he sought to exclude; and he also fortified it in a similar manner to the south, rebuilding the stations formed by Agricola, constructing stone towers, or mile castles, at regular intervals between the stations, and forming a road between these. Thus the whole formed "a vallum" or "pretentura," a belt of fortified country extending from the west to the east coast of the island. A stone wall was afterwards added for greater security, and supporting stations were erected at intervals outside this fortified line, both to the north and south of it.

The Emperor Antoninus afterwards did the same between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde, connecting in a similar manner the forts constructed by Agricola, but without the stone wall. The northern tribes were thus kept in check by a second barrier, and a province called Valentia secured between the two barriers.

The 6th legion, styled the "Victorious," came into Britain with Hadrian, and had its principal

quarters at York, but vestiges of it are found all through the north of England, as well as in Scotland.

The arrival of Hadrian in Britain is commemorated by a coin struck by a decree of the Senate, A.D. 121.

In removing the old bridge over the Tyne at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1873, a Roman altar dedicated to Neptune by the Legio VI. VI. P.F., or the 6th legion, the victorious, dutiful, and faithful, was found. Newcastle is the Pons Ælii of the "Notitia," and the old Roman bridge, of which the piles remained, was built by the Emperor Hadrian. The altar to Neptune seems to have been erected as a thanks-offering for the safe arrival of the legion on their reaching Britain.

The formation and improvement of military roads was proceeding during this reign, as appears from a Roman "Milliary" discovered near Leicester; in the centre of Britain, at the junction of the Foss-road with another Roman road coming direct from Colchester to Chester. The inscription on the stone contains the name of Hadrian; it was discovered in 1771.

Inscriptions bearing the name of Hadrian occur on the line of the Roman Wall.¹ The wall itself, or a portion of it, has been ascribed to the Emperor Severus, but there seems reason to believe that it was chiefly the work of Hadrian.

The 2nd, the 6th, and the 20th legions have

¹ See Bruce's "Roman Wall," and his "Lapidarium Septentrionale"; and "Corpus Inscip. Lat. Britan.," vol. vii.

all left records of their labours upon it, either in constructing the stations, the mile castles, or the wall itself.

Coins exist commemorating the conquests of Hadrian in Britain.¹ ADVENTUM AUGUSTI BRITANNIÆ, and BRITANNIAM DEVICTAM, and others have been recorded, and after his decease the work of subjugating the Britons was carried on by Antoninus Pius.

It is stated that when in Britain Hadrian displaced Septimus Clarus, his captain of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus, his secretary, the historian, for not showing sufficient respect to the Empress Sabina. Antoninus was the adopted son of Hadrian, and was made emperor A.D. 138. The policy which he is said by Eutropius to have pursued in other parts of the empire, viz., "that he was more studious to defend than to enlarge the empire," does not seem to have been followed in Britain as he advanced the boundary beyond the wall of Hadrian to the forts constructed by Agricola between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde. Capitolinus tells us that he subdued the Britons by his legate Lollius Urbicus, and removed the barbarians further off by a turf wall drawn across the island. The date of this turf wall is fixed at about the year A.D. 140, and this is confirmed by inscribed stones found in Scotland. An account of the vallum of Hadrian and the turf wall of Antoninus Pius will be given in the next chapter.

¹ See Eckhel, Cohen, &c.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus the philosopher, succeeded to the empire A.D. 161, and associated Lucius Verus with him in its government. During the reign of these emperors little is recorded, except that Britain was unquiet, and that Calpurnius Agricola was sent into the province.

This is confirmed by inscriptions which have been preserved,¹ but these do not enable us to fix the precise time of his coming.

The seat of the war seems to have been between the two walls, for the Caledonii had broken through the first, but the southern and midland portions of the island seem to have been tranquil, for the remains of villas, and the construction of roads, as well as of vast dykes in Lincolnshire, and the recovery of marshy lands, indicate peaceable possession.

Under the Emperor Commodus there were considerable disturbances in Britain. Xiphiline mentions that of the wars in which he was engaged none was so dangerous as that in Britain, for the barbarians broke through the barrier and attacked the Romans. This was probably the wall of Antoninus.

Ulpus Marcellus was sent against them, who is recorded to have gained advantages over the Britons, but was ill requited by Commodus. After his removal a sedition broke out among the soldiery in Britain, which ended in the murder of two legates, and it was only quelled by the prudence of Pertinax,

¹ See Horsley, "B. R.," liii. and xcvi.

who was sent over by Commodus. Commodus assumed to himself the title "Britannicus," and associated also with it those of "Pius and Felix," though the army in Britain desired to elect another emperor.

We know nothing of Britain from the death of Commodus to the time of the Emperor Severus, who succeeded to the Empire A.D. 193, and we shall see how serious matters had become in the island to require the presence of the emperor himself to reduce it to tranquillity.

Taking, then, a brief review of the advance of the Roman Conquest from the commencement of the reign of Hadrian, we find that, when he was called into Britain for the defence of the frontier, two only of the four legions which Claudius had planted in Britain for holding the Roman province remained, the 20th legion and the 2nd. Hadrian brought over the 6th, which was placed at York, and, by means of this legion and its auxiliaries the Roman power was more firmly fixed in the north, while the southern and western provinces were controlled by the 20th and the 2nd.

After this, Britain became practically divided into two provinces, upper and lower, superior and inferior, but it is not known where the line of division existed.

York was the chief city of the one province; Chester, Caerleon, and Colchester, the principal stations of the other. We shall see how, in later times, when the forces were withdrawn from the upper province and from Wales, they became con-

centrated upon the southern coast, known as the Saxon Shore.

After the death of Antoninus Pius, the Roman power seems to have relaxed its hold upon the north, and less vigour and energy was manifested in controlling the barbarous people beyond the second barrier, till at length the danger to the northern province became so great that it required the strong hand of the Emperor Severus to re-establish the Roman supremacy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus reaching from the Tyne to the Solway, commonly called the Roman Wall.

THE remains of the two barriers constructed by the Romans in Britain deserve a brief notice, as monuments of the engineering skill of that people, and of the efforts made to perpetuate their conquests. After remaining for centuries neglected, and their works serving as quarries for material, or harbours for robbers in the times of border warfare, they have, in more recent times, attracted the notice they deserve, and have yielded important confirmation to historical records. Ruined and dilapidated as we see them at present, no such monuments exist in other countries of the power and military genius of imperial Rome.

Julius Cæsar, we know, drew a line of forts between Geneva and Pas d'Ecluse, at the foot of the Jura, along the course of the Rhone, to protect the Roman province against an inroad of the Helvetii, the remains of which still exist, showing a line of earthworks, strengthened by camps, wherever the river would admit of an easy passage.

After the conquest of Dacia by the Emperor Trajan, the Romans joined the Rhine with the Danube, by

a "Limes," or boundary,¹ the traces of which still exist, but both these works were of a less elaborate character than the works constructed in Britain.

It has been common in all countries to protect portions of conquered territory by earthen ramparts and chains of forts, garrisoned by an armed guard, but the remains of the great works in Northumberland are on a much grander scale, and show a far greater amount of labour and skill than those we find elsewhere.

Happily, an elaborate survey of the entire course of the wall, and the works accompanying it, was made some years since by the liberality of Algernon, Duke of Northumberland; and this will tend to preserve to posterity a clear idea of its character, when many remains which are now visible shall have been swept away. The barrier has also found able historical investigators, from the time of Camden and Horsley to modern days, when Dr. Collingwood Bruce has made it his special study, and has produced a history of it, and a lapidarium, which will descend to posterity,—a monument of learned, accurate, and useful labour.

It has been mentioned already that Agricola probably drew the first line of forts between the Tyne and the Solway in the second year of his campaign in Britain, but the grand work, as we see it at present, was carried out by Hadrian thirty-five years after the recall of Agricola.

Spartian informs us that Hadrian first drew a wall,

¹ See "Proceedings of Archæological Institute, 1852,—Limes Rhæticus."

MURUS, eighty miles in length, to divide the barbarians from the Romans. He does not seem to have desired to recover the portion of country between the upper and lower isthmus, which had been conquered by Agricola, and protected by him with a second line of forts, which is now called "Graham's Dyke."

The works of the lower isthmus, as at present existing, show, first, a deep trench to the north, on the southern side of which stands the wall of solid masonry, which appears to have carried a parapet, being from twelve to fifteen feet in height, including the parapet, the breadth being from six to nine feet. The thickness, as well as height, seem to have varied in proportion to the strength of the position, the strongest portions being at the points most assailable.

The north face of the wall is continuous, but the southern has numerous inequalities in the masonry, which seem to show that the work was carried on by gangs of labourers simultaneously along the line.

The ditch to the north of the wall measures about thirty-five feet across the top, and about ten feet at the bottom, the depth being fifteen feet. It has been drawn indifferently through alluvial soil, rocks of sandstone and limestone, or cut through basaltic rock, and always keeps close company with the wall.

The *second* portion of this great work is the vallum to the south—the earth-wall—consisting of three ramparts and a foss.

Furthest to the south are two earthen ramparts; then close upon the second is a ditch, and this is

followed, at a slight interval, by a third earthen rampart; between this and the wall runs the military road. These ramparts at the present time stand six or seven feet above the level of the neighbouring ground, and are formed of earth mingled with masses of stone.

The distance between the stone wall and the vallum varies continually, according to the nature of the ground.

The *third* portion of the barrier consists of the structures erected for the accommodation of the soldiers, and the road for the transmission of troops and stores. These structures consist of stations, turrets, and mile castles.

The stationary camps are placed about four miles apart, and were adapted for the residence of military commanders, with accommodation for the officers and soldiers. These stations, though connected with the wall, appear to have been built before it, in order to hold the country and to provide secure lodgings for the soldiery while engaged in the work.

They are uniformly quadrangular, and contain an area of from three to six acres. The stone wall which encloses them is about five feet thick, and a ditch outside, and one or more earthen ramparts beyond. They usually stand on high ground, sloping to the south, and are naturally defended, at least on one side.

The great wall itself, when it does not run up to the north wall of the station, usually comes up to the north cheek of the east and west gateways.

The vallum usually approaches close to the south wall of the stations.

Three or more stations are detached from the wall, or the vallum, and situated to the south of them, and these are conjectured to have been erected by Agricola.

All these stations have been constructed with a view to security. No traces of tessellated floors are found in them. The walls are void of decorations common to Roman villas in the south of Britain, and there are few indications of luxury and refinement; everything connected with them indicates strength and hardihood.

The number of these stations along the whole line is reckoned to be seventeen or eighteen.

A record has been preserved to us of the garrisons in the "Notitia Imperii," or, as it has been not improperly designated, "The Army List of the Roman Empire," by which the names of these stations can be correctly assigned.

Wherever inscribed stones are found (as is the case in most of the stations), which give the name of the cohort, or ala, by which it was garrisoned, by referring to the "Notitia" the name of the station can be ascertained.

In addition to these large stations, we have the *castella*, or "mile castles," provided for the troops which guarded, or acted as sentinels along the whole course of the wall. They are about one Roman mile apart, and their form is quadrangular, and they usually measure sixty or seventy feet in each direc-

tion. They have been placed against the south side of the wall, and are generally seven furlongs apart ; but, whenever the wall comes to a river or mountain pass, we find a "mile castle" placed to guard the defile. They have usually only one gate set in the centre of the south wall.

Between the mile castles were placed four subsidiary buildings, watch-towers, or turrets attached to the wall, somewhat resembling stone sentry-boxes, which contained an interior space about ten feet square, where the sentinels could find shelter.

The military way connecting the stations ran along the whole length of the barrier, and was usually about seventeen feet in width, constructed of rubble pounded together, so as to form a rounded surface elevated in the centre, about a foot or eighteen inches above the surface of the ground. When descending a hill, the hanging side is protected with large check-stones. The road runs from castle to castle, and from station to station, not always keeping close to the wall, but taking the easiest way between the two points.

The masonry of the wall shows careful selection of the stones, which were for the most part close at hand, but where this was not the case no pains were spared to procure the fittest. In some places in Cumberland the stone must have been brought from quarries seven or eight miles distant. A quartzose grit was generally selected, and the work of building is supposed to have been done by natives under Roman supervision. The interior of the wall

is formed of concrete, and the work would have endured for ever, if not subjected to human depredations.

The quarries out of which the stones were brought have in some places been ascertained. The surface of the rock which has been cut away is inscribed with the name of the officer or cohort which worked the quarry. Thus, one old quarry at Fallowfield Fell, near Chollerford, has this inscription,—

PETRA FLAVII CARANTINI,

“The Rock of Flavius Carantinus.”

Another had on it the mark of the 6th legion, LEG. VI. V., and many other inscriptions have been found.

There are on the River Gelt, near Brampton, on the surface of a rock not easily accessible, the names of the consuls, by which the date when the quarry was worked can be fixed to A.D. 207.

This was the year when the Emperor Severus was urged to come over to Britain to check the ravages of the northern tribes, and this seems to show that the Wall was either then in progress, or that the stations were being strengthened.

The barrier of the lower isthmus is traced from Wall's End (Segidunum) on the north side of the Tyne, to Bowness (Gabrosentum?) on the north side of the Solway Frith. The principal stations have been for the most part correctly ascertained, and are graphically described in Dr. Collingwood Bruce's work. It will be enough here to mention by way of

example two of the principal,—Newcastle (*Pons Ælii*) and Carlisle (*Luguvallium*). The one at the eastern extremity of the barrier, and the other at the western ; both are now important cities, and, as of old, principal lines of thoroughfare, as Roman military roads passed through them in ancient times, and these have been succeeded in modern days by turnpikes and railways.

Newcastle has become the centre of the commerce of the north of England, and we should hardly expect to find at the present time very distinct traces of the ancient fortified station which protected the passage of the Tyne, and the anchorage of the Roman fleet, which could navigate the river up to its walls.

The fine old church of St. Nicholas, now raised to the dignity of a cathedral, stands on the line of the northern wall of the Roman station, which is conjectured by Dr. Bruce to have comprised sixteen acres, and this was probably accompanied by a large suburb.

The mediæval bridge over the Tyne, which was the only one previous to the construction of that triumph of engineering art, called the High Level Bridge, had its arches placed upon foundations of Roman masonry. The Roman altar already mentioned, dedicated to Neptune by the 6th legion, was found in the south abutment among the rubbish. The date of the Roman bridge is fixed to about A.D. 120. The mediæval bridge was erected A.D. 1320, and rebuilt in 1775, and removed in 1865, as no longer needed. The Roman bridge seems to have carried a level roadway placed upon timber buttresses. The Norman keep

of the mediæval castle, which crowned the ascent into the town from the bridge, is now made the receptacle for the Roman remains that have been found in the town and neighbourhood and along the line of the barrier.

It seems probable that from the River Tyne corn, and lead which is found in the Northumbrian hills, were exported to Gaul and Italy. Eight hundred corn vessels annually conveyed corn from Britain to the Continent, and the fertile valley of the Tyne, which was completely guarded by the barrier of the lower isthmus, must have contributed its share. Thus Pons Ælii early became a station of great importance. Bede mentions it as "an illustrious royal city."

The opposite side of the river, at Gateshead, was probably also a Roman fort, as Roman remains have been found there.

Carlisle (Luguvallium) is conjectured to have been one of Agricola's forts. Its name is not found among the stations mentioned in the "Notitia," but its importance as a military station was perhaps superseded by that at Stanwix, which is on the north side of the River Eden. Extensive remains of the ancient city lie beneath the modern Carlisle. The antiquary Leland (temp. Hen. VIII.) makes mention of the variety of Roman remains discovered in building the modern town.¹ Its importance as a military station, or as an emporium in Roman times, appears to have

¹ Many inscribed stones and sculptures are preserved in the local museum at Carlisle.

been inferior to Pons Ælii upon the banks of the Tyne, but Old Carlisle (Olenacum) was a place of great importance, the centre of a circle of camps with which it is connected by roads.

The best preserved station along the line of the wall is at House-steads, the ancient Borcovicus, about the centre of the barrier. The gates and walls remain, and the streets and lodgings of the garrison can be distinctly made out. The north gate is an excellent example of Roman masonry. In one portion of the enclosure is a building supposed to have been the Basilica, or court house. The streets are very narrow, and the size of the buildings small, showing every care to economise space. From the abundance of remains found in this station it was called by the antiquary Stukeley the "Tadmor of Britain."

All the inscribed stones discovered along the line of the barrier are carefully given by Dr. Bruce in his "Lapidarium," and by Prof. Hübner in vol. vii. of the "Corpus Inscript. Latinum."

CHAPTER IX.

Some account of the Barrier of Antoninus Pius, commonly called Graham's Dyke, or the Barrier of the Upper Isthmus.

IT has been already mentioned that the barrier of Antoninus Pius, the successor of the Emperor Hadrian, was formed by connecting together, by means of a deep foss and an earthen rampart, the forts previously erected by Agricola between the Forth and the Clyde.

These forts were enlarged and repaired, and others constructed, so that they stand at an interval of two miles betwixt each. The ditch extends about twenty miles in length, and is 40 feet wide and 20 feet deep, running in an unbroken line over hill and dale, and generally taking the rising ground, from the Clyde near Dumbarton, to Caeriden, on the Forth. The rampart accompanying the ditch is 20 feet high and 24 feet thick, and runs close along the south side of the ditch, having a platform behind for the soldiers. To the south of this runs the military way, 20 feet wide, and this road followed the line of fortification communicating with the stations from end to end of the vallum. The work was carried out by the legate of Antoninus, Lollius Urbicus, who, for military services in Africa, had earned the title of Africanus,

and many inscribed stones have been found bearing his name in the stations and along the line of the barrier. Others are found bearing the name of the legion or cohort, and the amount of work, or the distance, completed by each company. The larger stations are eighteen in number, and are so placed as to be within view of each other. It is not possible to assign to each its ancient name, as can be done, for the most part, in the wall of Hadrian, but the remains found at each, consisting of altars or monumental stones, are given in the "*Corpus Inscript. Latinum*," vol. vii.; from these we know that Gauls, Germans, and other foreigners in the Roman service, as well as Romans, formed the garrisons, as on the line of Hadrian's Wall.

The legions which constructed the barrier were the 2nd, the 6th, and the 20th, assisted by the auxiliary cohorts. The work executed by each company was generally about three Roman miles, as stated on the slabs of inscribed stone.

The legate, Lollius Urbicus, held his office in Britain for twenty years, and not only fortified and guarded the barrier, but extended his conquests as far as the Moray Frith, intersecting the country with roads and camps, and under him the Roman power in Scotland attained its highest point.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and of his successor Commodus, frequent insurrections of the natives took place, and on one occasion the rampart was stormed and a Roman general slain. The war-like spirit of the Caledonii seems never to have

been subdued, and their incessant inroads led to the coming of the Emperor Severus into the island, and his celebrated campaign against that people, A.D. 206.

When the barrier was described by Gordon, A.D. 1726, and afterwards by General Roy, it remained in good preservation; but since that time much has been destroyed, and, had it not been for the records left by them, much less would have been known of its structure. Of the eighteen castella scarcely a vestige now remains, one at Kirkintilloch being, it is said, the only station preserving its distinctive features. The military road has been by slow degrees almost obliterated. It was constructed of small round stones rammed tightly together, with a border of curb-stones firmly fixed in the earth.

Altars are found dedicated to Jupiter, Mars, Hercules, and Mercury, to Fortune and to Victory, to Silvanus and the Nymphs, as well as to the Genius¹ of Britain, a local and tutelary god; also sepulchral slabs in memory of soldiers. Heavy iron hammers, soldiers' sandals, heaps of sling-stones, and those suited to military engines used for defending the rampart, are among the objects discovered; also great quantities of pottery, including amphoræ, vases, and bowls, bearing the makers' names, and stone querns, or mills for grinding corn, as well as the grain itself, stored in a subterranean gallery in one of the castella at Castle Carey.

Two of the wells which supplied the garrisons of

¹ See "Corp. Inscrp. Lat.," vii., No. 1,113,—GENIO TERRAE BRITANNICAE.

the forts at Cawdor and Auchendavie, are still preserved, and coins have been found in nearly all the forts, of gold, silver, and brass, from the date of the Emperor Vespasian to that of Honorius.¹

A coin of Antoninus Pius commemorates the successes gained in Britain under his legate. This exhibits on the reverse Britannia seated on a rock, with a shield at her side, and lifting up the right hand with the finger pointing upward ; the obverse has the head of Antoninus, and marks his eighteenth tribunate ; another has on the reverse a winged Victory bearing a shield, with the word *BRITAN* inscribed upon it, and the legend is *IMPERATOR. II.* which is supposed to commemorate the completion of his victories by the construction of the earthen barrier.

Some little may be learned about the war from the sculptured tablets erected by the soldiery, and a group of altars has preserved to our times the record of "Victoria Victrix," of "Hercules," and "Epona."

"At one point an Italian troop set up a chapel and statue to Mercury ; at another the Gauls carved inscriptions to 'Mars Camulus,' and the Germans to their gods of victory. The tablets display the Caledonian warriors and the figures of crouching captives ; the trooper in one medallion rides down defenceless savages, and in another Peace returns, and flute-players lead the soldiers towards the altar and the victims ready for thank-offerings. One may read in these stories the army's thanks to 'Britannia,' to the genius

¹ See "Archæological Journal," vol. xv.

of the land, and the spirit of the woods and the hills. The Roman soldiers were content to pray to Sancta Britannia, and 'Brigantia' with her spear and turreted crown, just as they deified their standards and the emperor's majesty, and even their own good luck. . . . After the peaceful age of the Antonines the debatable land about the walls became the scene of perpetual warfare, which raged or smouldered as the barbarians burst across the line, or were chased into the recesses of the mountains."¹

¹ See "Origins of English History," pp. 329 and 330.

CHAPTER X.

The Advent of the Emperor Severus, A.D. 208.

THE coming of Severus into Britain opens a new era of conquest. We have an account given by Herodian, and also by Xiphiline, who epitomised the history of Dion Cassius, who was a contemporary of Severus.

The account by Dion Cassius of the events in Britain under Severus is unfortunately lost. Affairs in Britain seem to have demanded the emperor's presence, as his legate sent to ask for aid, and peace had been obliged to be purchased of the Meatæ, a tribe bordering on the wall. These were confederated with the Caledonians, and these two tribes appear to have been the principal, the names of lesser tribes being absorbed into them. The Caledonians were the furthest north, and they and the Meatæ are described as inhabiting a wild, barren country, abounding in mountain and marsh. They had, according to the account of Xiphiline, neither walled cities nor tillage, but lived by the chase and on wild fruits; nor did they make use of fish for food, although there was great abundance of it in their country.

They lived in tents, and went barefooted without much clothing, and were remarkably active and enduring. Their state was democratical, and they had

a community of wives, the children being reared at the common cost. They were essentially predatory and delighted in pillage.

They fought, like the Britons of the south, from chariots, drawn by small but swift horses, and also on foot, being very fleet in running, but bold and resolute when obliged to stand.

Their weapons were a shield and short spear, with a bronze knob at the end of the shaft, which was used to make a noise by shaking it, so as to terrify an enemy. They are also stated to have prepared a kind of food for emergencies, which, if a small piece were taken, it allayed for many hours both hunger and thirst. Their hardihood was such that they could plunge into a morass and remain there many days, keeping the head above water, and subsisting on roots and the bark of trees.

These were the enemies against which the Roman emperor had to contend. He had brought his two sons, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, commonly known as Caracalla, and Geta, with him from Rome. The latter he left to govern the southern and western portion of Britain, the former he took with him on his march into Scotland. As he advanced into Caledonia the army underwent the greatest hardships. He had to cut down forests, and to form roads across marshes, and to build bridges over rivers. Trees are found at the present day in the bogs in Scotland bearing the marks of the Roman axe, which have been used in forming roads over the mosses and moors. In this progress Severus encountered no regular army, nor

fought a single battle. The enemy sought to entice the Romans onward by leaving cattle, sheep, and oxen in their line of march, and so to exhaust their strength by fatigue and loss of men, and to cut them off by sudden surprises skilfully planned. Severus is said to have lost 50,000 men in this campaign, yet he still persevered, until he reached the northern limit of the island, and is recorded to have carefully examined the parallax of the sun, and the length of the day, both in summer and winter.

The emperor was carried in a covered litter, as he was suffering from disease in his feet; yet, notwithstanding the infirmity of his health and increasing age, he compelled the Caledonians to submit.

The conduct of his son, Caracalla, is said greatly to have augmented his sufferings.

On one occasion he attempted the life of his father, and was only prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the officers and soldiers near at hand. His conduct is believed to have hastened the emperor's death, which took place at York, as he was preparing for a second campaign against his fierce northern enemies.

The successes of Severus in Britain are commemorated on several coins. One of these contains on the obverse—

SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. BRIT(annicus),

and on the reverse two figures of winged victories placing a shield upon a trophy, at the foot of which are two captives seated, and the legend around,

VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE, with the letters s. c. denoting that it was struck by order of the Senate.

Another, bearing the name of Geta, has on the reverse a winged victory standing, and writing on a shield placed on a tree, with a similar legend; another has a Victory seated, inscribing with a pen a similar shield, resting on the knee, with the same inscription above. As Geta had kept the southern part of Britain in peace, and assisted his father with supplies, he also shared in the honour of the "British victories."

The last of these coins has a small round shield lying at the foot of the figure of Victory, which probably represents the shield of a vanquished Caledonian soldier.

Severus, while preparing for a second campaign against the Caledonians, who had broken their treaty with the Romans, was taken off by death at York, February 4th, A.D. 211. York, which had been the seat of Geta's government in the absence of Severus, witnessed his funeral obsequies, and preserves their remembrance to the present day in the name of "Severus's Hills," some distance outside the walls of the Roman city. His ashes were conveyed to Rome to be placed in the tomb of the Antonines, which had been erected by Severus.

Geta, while acting for his father in Britain, was assisted by Papinian, one of the ablest lawyers of ancient Rome, who had accompanied Severus into Britain. The laws which were enacted while Severus was in Britain are supposed to have had considerable

influence in the island in after-ages, especially in the northern provinces; and it is not improbable that Roman law continued to be taught in York, and that a school of civil law existed in that city, as Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherburn (born A.D. 639) studied Roman law at York, and Alcuin describes the same school (A.D. 804) as existing nearly two hundred years later.

“The death of Severus is said to have been hastened by omens of approaching ruin. When he went into the street at York to make an offering to some healing god, he was led to the ‘House of Bellona’ by the mistake of a rustic soothsayer: black victims stood in readiness for a gloomy sacrifice, and were permitted by ill fortune to follow the emperor to the palace. A negro soldier had met him at a posting-house, near Hadrian’s Wall, and spoken words relating to his death and enthronement in heaven. ‘Thou hast been all things,’ he cried, as he presented a funeral wreath,—‘Thou hast conquered all things; now, therefore, be the God of Victory’!”¹

Severus was deified, and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, made peace with the Caledonians.

There is a coin of Caracalla, struck probably after his return from Britain. The legend on the reverse is,—

M. AVR. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. BRIT.;

on the obverse is the Circus Maximus, with the Obelisk at Rome, and the legend, PM. TR. P. XIII. COS III. P.P.; and in the exergue, S.C., showing it

¹ See Spartianus, “Vita Severi,” c. 19, 22.

was struck by order of the Senate when the title of Britannicus was conferred on him. Caracalla returned to Rome A.D. 211, with his brother Geta, and Papinian the friend of Severus also, but both were soon after murdered by Caracalla.

Little is known of Roman events in the island for a period of seventy-three years after the death of Severus. There has been recorded an inscribed stone¹ to Alexander Severus, and his mother Mammæa, found in Cumberland, but there is no evidence that the emperor was ever in the island; also another to Didius Gallus, and his son Volusianus, on a "miliary," or Roman mile-stone, found at Greta Bridge, Yorkshire, but this simply indicates that the Roman road there was either then completed or repaired.

During the reign of Gallienus, extending from A.D. 260 to 268, we have an account of the rise of what have been denominated the "Thirty Tyrants," who claimed imperial power over the provinces of the Empire. Coins of some of these,—Victorinus, Posthumus, and the two Tetrici, Lollianus, and Marius,—have been found in Britain, and especially in the neighbourhood of York,² and it is, therefore, not improbable that some of them may have exercised imperial power in Britain.

A new enemy now began to threaten the Roman power in Britain. The pirate fleets of the Franks infested the British seas, and it became needful to have a fleet to protect the coast. The command of

¹ See Horsley's "B. R. Cumberland," li., p. 274.

² See "Eburacum," by C. Wellbeloved, p. 22.

this fleet had been conferred on Carausius, a Menapiian by birth, but he was suspected of conniving at piracy, in order that he might enrich himself by becoming a sharer in their booty, when they returned laden with plunder.

To save himself, therefore, from punishment, he usurped the imperial power, A.D. 288, and reigned over Britain for seven years. A vast number of his coins struck in Britain have been preserved, so many that the history of Carausius has been written from his medals. He was slain at length by his minister, Allectus, who usurped his power.

The Franks had well-nigh established their power over the south portion of Britain, when it was broken by Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, who defeated Allectus in a decisive battle, in which that usurper was slain.

The Roman fleet blockaded Boulogne, the outpost of the rebellious Franks, and an attack was also made on their settlements near the Rhine. An army also was landed in Britain under cover of a fog, at a point west of the Isle of Wight, where the British galleys were stationed; and in the battle which took place Allectus was totally defeated, while hardly a Roman is said to have been slain.¹

The imperial forces then pushed on to London and defeated the remnant of the Franks. Allectus held the government of Britain for three years. Many of his coins are found in Britain.

¹ See Eumenius, "Paneg. Constant.," 15, 16, 17.

While Carausius ruled Britain, the Meatae and Caledonians were kept in check, being first punished by him, and then attached to his interest. He is the first Roman general that ruled Britain as an independent prince. A well-known coin of Carausius has the legend,—

EXPECTATE VENI,

“Thou looked-for, come,” on the reverse, and on the obverse a figure of Carausius holding the “hasta,” or spear, and joining hands with a female holding a trident, indicating “Britannia.” It may be inferred from this that he was welcomed by the army in Britain.

When Diocletian and Maximian appointed Cæsars to divide the care of empire with them, Britain fell to Constantius, A.D. 304. Upon the retirement of Diocletian, Constantius became emperor. He resided at York, and is stated to have waged a successful war against the Picts and Scots. He married Helena, who became the mother of Constantine the Great. She was of obscure parentage, but the fame of her piety as a woman, as well as her greatness as a princess, is preserved in many legends. Constantius died A.D. 306, and Constantine the Great was immediately chosen by the army in Britain to succeed his father as Emperor of the West, but his title was not confirmed until his marriage, the year following. His election is said to have been chiefly due to a German king who had brought his army to Britain to assist in the northern campaign.

"The scheme of government which Diocletian had designed was in some respects amended by Constantine. Britain formed part of a vast pro-consulate extending from Mount Atlas to the Caledonian deserts, and was governed by the Gallic prefect through a 'vicar,' or deputy, at York. The island was divided into five new provinces. To each was assigned a governor experienced in the law, who dealt with taxation and finance. The army was under the general jurisdiction of the two masters of the cavalry and infantry, who directed the forces of the Empire of the West."¹

Britain was under the orders of the "Count of Britain," assisted by the subordinate officers. The "Duke of Britain" commanded in the north. The "Count of the Saxon Shore" governed the "Maritime Tract," and provided for the defence of the south-eastern coast.

The Saxon shore on the coast of Britain must not be mistaken for the Saxon shore on the opposite coast of France, the head-quarters of which were the harbour of Boulogne.²

The names of the several provinces into which Britain was divided are given in the "Notitia," viz.,—

1. BRITANNIA PRIMA, which included all the south and west of England, from the estuary of the Thames to that of the Severn.

2. BRITANNIA SECUNDA, which included the Prin-

¹ See "Origins of English History," p. 336.

² See Pancirollus, "Comment.," 161.

cipality of Wales, bounded by the Severn on the east, and the Irish Channel on the west.

3. FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS. All the midland portion of Britain, from the Thames to the Humber and the estuary of the Dee.

4. MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS. The Brigantian territory, lying between the estuaries of the Humber and Dee, and the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.

5. VALENTIA. The most northern portion lying between the barrier of Hadrian and that of Antoninus. The fortresses and military roads by means of which the island was held, and communication was kept up, and the movement of troops facilitated, will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

York : the Roman Eburacum.

WE have reached a period when the Roman power in Britain had attained its greatest height, and the island had been subjugated, but the spirit of the old inhabitants not subdued. The northern tribes, the Caledonians and Mæataë, were still formidable foes, though their power had been broken, and when the strong arm that held them in subjection was weakened they were ready to renew their efforts to cast off the Roman yoke. Roman luxury and refinement never prevailed to enervate the spirit of the northern tribes.

We have seen how in the course of subjugating the northern part of Britain York became the seat of Roman government. The foundation of the walls of the Roman city goes back to the time of Trajan, but the station probably originated in a camp of Agricola.

The situation was chosen with the consummate judgment that marked the ability of that commander. It is placed at the confluence of two rivers, the Ouse and the Foss, the former of which is navigable up to the walls. The city stood on the northern bank of the Ouse. One of the towers with portions of the walls and part of a gate still remain. The fortified area contained a rectangular space of 536 yards by

470, having apparently four principal gates, and towers at the four angles, one of which, now called the "Multangular Tower," still remains, and exhibits in the lower portion distinct characteristics of Roman masonry. It stands in the garden of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and guarded the s.w. angle of the parallelogram. Further to the north, following the line of the city wall, one of the gates has been traced at Bootham Bar, which has taken the place of the Roman gate. The wall was strengthened by towers. Traces of the 9th legion are found at York, as well as at Aldborough (Isurium), where the stamp upon the Roman tiles found there indicates that the Castrum was built by that legion. A tablet placed by this legion at York in the time of Trajan leads to the supposition that it may have fortified this station also.

The 6th legion which came over with Hadrian (A.D. 120) has left many memorials behind it at York, where the head-quarters were fixed. This legion with the auxiliaries kept guard over the stations in the north of Britain, and has left many memorials of its work on the wall between Newcastle and Carlisle.

An inscription found at Ferentinum¹ informs us that vexillations (auxiliary troops) of the 7th, 8th, and 22nd legions, each a thousand strong, also came over into Britain at the same time as the 6th legion.

York seems to have been the metropolis of the north. Temples existed there either within the

¹ Henzen, *n.* 5456.

precinct of the city or at the gates; and remains of villas and baths, and a cemetery on the south side of the Ouse, have been uncovered.

The temple of Bellona is mentioned by Spartian,¹ and probably stood by the north gate. Severus was returning to York from his northern expedition, when "coming to the city, and desiring to offer sacrifice, the emperor was conducted first, by a rustic sooth-sayer, to the temple of Bellona." A small brass image, apparently of this goddess, was found near the north gate where he must have entered.²

The remains of a temple to Serapis and inscriptions were found in 1770 in York, and are still preserved in the museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society. Caligula is known to have cultivated the worship of this divinity, and to have made a journey to Egypt to offer sacrifices there in honour of Serapis.

The remains of the worship of Mithras have been found at York, as well as on the line of the Roman wall at Housesteads in Northumberland. The worship of this divinity was introduced into Rome in the time of Trajan, and extended over the western provinces in the time of Severus.

Altars have been found dedicated to JUPITER, to the DIS DEABUS HOSPITALIBUS PENATIBUSQUE, also to the DEAE MATRES, or Matribus, Africis, Italicis, Gallicis,—dedicated by the Cohorts to the presiding goddesses of the countries whence they had come—Africa, Italy, and Gaul; also to the goddess

¹ "Vita Severi," c. 22.

² See Wellbeloved's "Eburacum."

FORTUNA, to BRITANNIA SANCTA, and the GENIUS LOCI.

Many sepulchral remains have also been found, as well as effigies bearing inscriptions, and lately a fine stone statue of Mars, life size. The collection of inscribed Roman monuments in the museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society at York, as well as of articles of domestic use and of personal ornament, are well deserving attention, and have been arranged with much care and judgment. All these remains give a lively idea of the importance of the Roman city,—the tessellated floors manifest its refinements, but these are wanting on the line of the Roman wall in Northumberland, or on the barrier of Antoninus Pius. A Roman villa was laid open near to Collingham, in the year 1855, and another near Thorpe-Arch, where the bricks bore the stamp of the 6th legion. Numerous articles of jet, discovered in Roman interments at York, attest the working of that mineral by the Romans, and the specimens of glass and pottery show elegance and refinement of taste. The excavations for the railway station revealed many remains of great interest, especially a small plate of brass inscribed or rather punctured with Greek uncial letters.

ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΕΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΥ¹

“To the Gods of the General’s Prætorium.” This is valuable as illustrating a passage in the gospel of

¹ See an account of the two tablets found at York in the “Journal of the Archæological Institute,” vol. xxxix., p. 23.

St. John, who states that the Jewish priests and elders would not enter the Prætorium of the Roman governors, "that they might not be defiled" on the eve of the Passover, the Prætorium being specially dedicated to heathen deities.

The 6th legion upheld the Roman dominion in the northern part of Britain till its final abandonment in the fifth century. "York," says Kenrick, "abounds in their memorials, which, as might be expected, are much more numerous than those of the ninth."

The Caledonians perpetually assailed the wall of Antoninus and ravaged the country south of it, but they never established themselves between the two walls, and Yorkshire and Northumberland enjoyed a long period of peace.

"To this period," observes Mr. Kenrick, "are to be attributed the greater portion of the antiquities which the soil of York and especially that of its suburbs has furnished.

"They comprehend all the apparatus of a civilised and even luxurious life, and show that, side by side with the troops of the garrison, an industrious and wealthy population had formed itself, no doubt with a mixture of foreign blood, the result of the long residence of the legionaries."

The position as well as the Roman name of York (Eburacum) is fixed beyond doubt by the mention of it in four of the Itinera of Antoninus, viz., Iter i. ii. v. vii.

These Itinera mark the stations and the distances

between them, along the lines of military road formed by the Romans.

In the first of these York is noted as seventeen Roman miles from Isurium (Aldborough) and seven from Derventio (Stamford Bridge), and has the name of the 6th legion (LEG. VI. Victrix) attached to that of the station, being the head-quarters of that legion.

The rest of the Itinera confirm this position.

The origin of the name "Eburacum" is not so clear. It has been supposed to have succeeded to a Celtic town of the Brigantes, before Celtic Brigantia became part of a Roman province, and it probably took its name from the river Ure, on which it is placed. The advantage of the river seems to have governed the selection of the site, as Roman vessels could be safely anchored almost under its walls, and in the days of Alcuin it was described as "*Emporium terræ commune Marisque.*"

It will be seen on looking to the map of Roman Britain that it lies off the direct line of Roman road passing from Lincoln to the north, and causes another line to diverge at Tadcaster, and rejoin the main line of road at Aldborough.

The dignity to which Eburacum rose as an imperial residence, the seat of justice, and the head-quarters of the 6th legion, mark it as one of the first, if not the first Roman city in Britain.

Most of the Roman British towns grew out of the stationary camps of the Roman soldiery. "The ramparts and pathways developed into walls and streets, the square of the tribunal into the market-

place, and every gateway was the beginning of a suburb where straggling rows of shops, temples, rose-gardens, and cemeteries were sheltered from all danger by the presence of a permanent garrison.

"In course of time the important positions were surrounded with lofty walls protected by turrets set apart at the distance of a bow-shot, and built of such solid strength as to resist the shock of the battering-ram.

"In the centre of the town stood a group of public buildings, containing the court-house, baths, and barracks, and it seems likely that every important place had a theatre or a circus for races and shows.

"The humble beginnings of our cities are seen in the ancient sketch of a visit to Central Britain in which a poet pictured the arrival of the son of a former governor, and imagined a white-haired old man pointing out the changes of the province."¹

¹ See "Origins of English History," and the Poem of Statius, "Silv.," v., 2, 142.

CHAPTER XII.

Roman Forces in Britain and their Stations.

BEFORE considering the events in Britain during the reign of Constantine the Great and his successors, it may be well to review the forces stationed in the island. Under the Emperor Hadrian the Roman army seems to have been larger than at any other period.

The sources of information are not only the classical and other writers on British affairs, but the inscriptions that have been found; the "*Notitia Imperii*," already mentioned,—a list of the Roman forces, which was probably compiled shortly before the Romans left Britain in the beginning of the fifth century; and the "*Tabulæ Honestæ Missionis*," or "*Diplomata*," bronze tablets containing lists of soldiers upon whom the right of Roman citizenship was conferred with the right of marriage as well, after having served in twenty-five campaigns.

Five of these have been discovered in Britain; one recently in excavating the gateway of one of the stations (*Cilurnum*), on the line of the Northumbrian wall. Careful lists of the Roman forces have been collected by Mr. Thompson Watkin from other sources, and still more recently by Professor Hübner

of Berlin, in his tractate entitled, "Das Römische Heer in Britannien" (Berlin, 1881). In his first British campaign Julius Cæsar brought only two legions into Britain, which he has mentioned, the 7th and the 10th. On his second he brought five, the names of which are not known; eight or nine are recorded on inscribed stones or tiles found in Britain, viz. :—II,¹ VI, VII, VIII, IX, XIV, XX, XXII, besides alæ, or squadrons of cavalry; and cohorts, or auxiliary forces, composed of bodies of men enrolled from conquered countries.

In the reign of Claudius, when the real conquest of Britain commenced (A.D. 43), we have recorded the II, IX, XIV, and XX. The XIVth did not long remain in Britain, though, on account of the victory over Queen Boadicea, and the heroic conduct it then displayed, the legion obtained the honourable title of "Domitores Britanniae."

This legion is not mentioned on any tiles, which generally record works done by the legionaries, but an inscribed monument has been found at Wroxeter (Uriconium), in Shropshire, to two officers of that legion, which may have been stationed there, and a monument to a soldier of the same legion has been found at Lincoln. Uriconium, the present village of Wroxeter, must have been an important Roman city, as the Roman walls enclosed an area of three

¹ There seems reason for believing that the Leg. II. Adjutrix, Pia, Fidelis, was in Britain as well as the Leg. II. Augusta. See Hübner's "Das Rom. Heer in Britannien," p. 27 and following; also "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxix., p. 482.

English miles, and extensive remains have been found there.¹

The 6th legion, styled *Victrix, Pia, Fidelis*, came into Britain with the Emperor Hadrian (*circa* A.D. 120). Besides the memorials left of it at York, where the head-quarters were fixed, numerous inscriptions have been found along the line of the northern barrier, between Newcastle and Carlisle, and the other stations in the north. An inscription found at Ferentinum, in Italy, informs us that vexillations of the 7th, 8th, and 22nd legions, each a thousand strong, also came about the same time as the 6th legion into Britain.

The 9th legion, styled *Hispana*, or Spanish legion, was nearly annihilated in the outbreak under Boadicea, but what remained of it participated in the victory of Suetonius Paulinus, and was afterwards in the battle of Mons Grampius, when Agricola defeated the Caledonians. Remains bearing the name of this legion are found in the Roman station at Aldborough, near York, as well as at York, and a tablet erected there by this legion in the reign of Trajan is the last memorial we have of it.

The 20th legion had its head-quarters at Chester, where numerous remains have been found, and the 2nd legion (*Augusta*) at Caerleon and Caerwent, in Monmouthshire, where many traces of its occupation exist. By means of these two legions, the one stationed near the estuary of the Severn, and the other

¹ See Wright's "*Uriconium*."

on that of the Dee, the Silures and Ordovices, the war-like inhabitants of the principality of Wales, were kept in check and the Roman supremacy upheld in the west. The Roman walls of the station at Chester can be clearly traced, as well as those of Caerleon-on-Usk,¹ and the walls of Caerwent, as well as the outer ditch, remain very perfect. The vexillarii of the 20th legion were engaged in the battle with Queen Boadicea, and the soldiers of this legion afterwards took part in building the Northumbrian and Scottish walls. It is not enumerated in the "Notitia," and therefore had probably left Britain before that document was compiled.

A stamped tile of the legio VIII has been found at Leicester, and also an inscribed stone, but it is uncertain whether the legion or only the vexillations were in Britain.

The legio II (Augusta) came over in the time of Claudius, under the command of Vespasian, and was also in the North under Hadrian, where traces of it are found. It was also engaged upon the vallum of the upper isthmus in the time of Antoninus Pius. In the reign of Valentinian its head-quarters were at Rutupiae (Richborough), in Kent, probably shortly before its final withdrawal from Britain.

Of the auxiliary forces stationed in Britain records remain of twenty alæ (regiments or squadrons of cavalry) and sixty-seven cohorts, or bodies of soldiers, acting with the legionaries. From the notices and

¹ See Lee's "Caerleon."

inscriptions which have been collected from various localities, it will be seen that troops of almost every nation of the then known world served in Britain under the Roman standard.¹

It is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of the Roman forces employed in this island at any given time. From examination of the camps of large size in Scotland formed by Agricola, it is estimated by General Roy that the army under his command amounted to about 26,000 men, but a considerable number must also have been disposed of in garrisons throughout the conquered parts of the island, and the forces employed in the time of Hadrian and the Emperor Severus must have been much larger.

The works which these forces carried out during their stay in Britain remain to the present time, not only in the fortified camps, cities, and barriers which they constructed, but especially in the lines of road constructed by them. These are to be found in every portion of the conquered province, and evince the skill and science of the Roman as well as his power. No doubt, before the coming of the Romans British trackways existed, some of which may still be traced over the open downs, but these were merely tracks or cleared spaces for the purposes of such traffic and intercourse as then existed between neighbouring tribes.

¹ See "Roman Forces in Britain," a paper read by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin to the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1873; also Supplement in vol. v. See also Treatise by Prof. Hübner, already cited.

The roads constructed by the Roman soldiers when in Britain are similar to those on the Continent, which are known to have been formed partly for the purpose of giving employment to the legionaries in time of peace. We know from Livy that the Via Flaminia was extended for this very purpose, and it was good policy to employ not merely the soldiers but the unemployed natives in such work. We have throughout this island a perfect network of military and other Roman roads, and these must have been formed by the legions and the natives acting under their direction.

The extent and nature of these roads, which were formed as the legions advanced into the country, will form the subject of another chapter, but other works were also carried on, such as constructing huge dykes, as in Lincolnshire, and draining the marshy lands of the island, and in working mines of lead, tin, and copper ; all of which are known to have been directed and superintended, if not actually worked, by Roman soldiers.

The Roman legions, first raised in Italy, and consisting of Roman or Italian soldiers, appear afterwards to have been recruited from conquered provinces as the Empire extended itself. The Romans well understood how to utilise not only the wealth of conquered countries but also the population.

They looked especially to vigour and strength of body, and capacity to endure fatigue,¹ and, wherever

¹ See "Vegesius de Re Militari," lib. i., cap. ii.

these were found in a conquered country, they seem to have enlisted young soldiers either to serve in the legions, or formed them into bodies so as to act as auxiliary forces. Thus, first Gaul, then Germany and Spain, were brought to contribute robust and hardy youths to the service of Rome; and after the conquest of Britain this island also had to contribute its proportion of soldiers to the imperial service.

The 9th legion, which has the title "*Hispana*," or "*Hispanica*," seems to have been recruited in Spain, and we know from inscriptions that Spanish auxiliaries also served in Britain. An inscription found at Lincoln, in memory of a soldier of the 9th legion, records him to have been a native of Leria in Spain.

The 6th legion came into Britain under Hadrian, but had previously served, first in Spain, then in Gaul and in Germany, where it remained until sent into Britain. The soldiers were, therefore, chiefly men of those nations, officered by Roman centurions, and well prepared, by climate and country, for the work they would have to perform in subduing the warlike people of the Brigantes and Caledonians. On this legion rested the maintenance of the imperial power in North Britain, and it remained until the final withdrawal of the Roman forces.

The same character would apply to the 2nd and 20th legions, and the soldiers of which they were composed. They must have been men of different nations, recruited from the conquered provinces, and brought by degrees under perfect Roman discipline.

These legionaries, once permanently settled in

Britain, must have exerted a permanent influence on the inhabitants. The soldiers composing the legions and the cohorts not infrequently intermarried with the natives, and when their term of service was completed had lands assigned to them. Funeral monuments attest these alliances, and during a period of 300 years, much Roman blood must of necessity have mingled with the native population.

The assignment of a territory, with its peculiar privileges, was not confined to cities, but extended to the "Castella," or fortified stations, on the frontier, and to the stations protecting the coast. Land was held by military tenure. We have reason to believe that the land bordering the Roman wall in Northumberland and in Cumberland was so held, as well as that on the line of the Antonine barrier.

The remains of villas are often found not far distant from Roman stations,¹ and these serve to indicate that Romans of a certain rank settled in the country, and cultivated all the arts of civilised life. The tessellated floors and remnants of wall paintings, as well as other remains, appear to indicate this.

As foreigners of many nations are known to have served in Britain, so also British levies served in foreign lands under Roman rule.

The same principle, noted in Britain, of employing

¹ The bricks of the hypocaust in the Roman villa discovered at Dalton Parlours, near Thorpe-Arch, Yorkshire, have the stamp of the 6th legion, and the villa was probably the residence of an officer of that legion. See Kenrick's "Historical Notices of the 9th and 6th Legions." York, 1867.

auxiliaries from every conquered nation to hold the garrisons, prevailed in all the other countries under Roman dominion, and caused levies of Britons to serve on the Continent of Europe, in the East, and in Africa. Thus, in Algeria, where the 3rd legion was stationed for a long period, we have amongst the provincial levies the names of Celtæ and BRITANNI, as well as Hispani and Astures, Breuci, Sicambri and Marcomanni, &c.¹

The usurper Maximus, who was proclaimed emperor in Britain, A.D. 383, raised a large army of Britons and Gauls, and passed over to the mouths of the Rhine, and succeeded in establishing himself at Trèves. His soldiers are said to have settled in Gaul, and to have founded the Lesser Britain across the sea.² This, whether really so or not, serves to show that foreign soldiers were in the habit of obtaining settlements in countries other than their own, and that a great mixture of races must necessarily have ensued. There can be very little doubt that Roman and Italian, French, Spanish, and German blood, in Roman times, greatly leavened the population of this island, and the effect may have reached even to the present times.

¹ See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxix., p. 235.

² See Nennius, "Hist. Brit.," 23, and compare Gildas, "Hist.," 14.

CHAPTER XIII.

Roman Roads in Britain and their Construction.

THE first object in constructing Roman roads throughout Britain, which extend not merely through the portion of the island which is called England but into Wales and Scotland, was the marching of troops and the conveyance of stores, as well as for the purpose of the direct communication of intelligence.

We have lists of stations along the marching roads given in the *Itinera* of Antonine, and these stations have been for the most part identified. It is not known by whom this *Itinera* was compiled, but it has been ascribed to the age of Hadrian or Severus, and is supposed to have been named after his son Caracalla (Antoninus) who was so long in Britain with his father.

This work does not include all the roads that have been traced, or the stations identified as Roman, but it specifies marching routes from the Northumbrian wall to York and Lincoln, thence to Colchester, and London, and further south to Canterbury, Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne. It also enumerates stations on the road which passed from London to Manchester and from thence to Chester, and to Caernarvon in Wales. Also along the coast of southern Britain from Exeter to Dorchester, on to Southampton, and from Southampton to Winchester and Silchester,

also to Marlborough and Bath, on to the Severn at its junction with the Avon, and across into Wales, and the stations along the coast of south Wales. The stations between Chester and Caerleon are also mentioned in the Itinera.¹ No stations are given beyond the line of the Northumberland wall, nor any beyond Exeter. The number of the Itinera is fifteen.

- Iter i. Traces the road from the wall to Flamborough Head, Yorks.
- „ ii. From the wall to Richborough in Kent.
- „ iii. „ London to Dover.
- „ iv. „ London to Lymne.
- „ v. „ London to Carlisle.
- „ vi. „ London to Lincoln.
- „ vii. „ Chichester to London.
- „ viii. „ York to London.
- „ ix. „ Castor in Norfolk, to London.
- „ x. „ Glanoventa or Glannibanta (not distinctly ascertained, but probably Lanchester, co. Durham, or Ellenborough, on the river Ellen or Slen), to Chesterton on the borders of Shropshire.
- „ xi. „ Caernarvon to Chester.
- „ xii. „ Silchester to Wroxeter.
- „ xiii. „ Caerleon on Usk to Silchester.
- „ xiv. „ Caerleon on Usk to Silchester, by another route.
- „ xv. „ Silchester to Exeter.

¹ See Burton's "Itinera of Antonine."

The lines of road here mentioned do not at all cover the extent of territory conquered by the Romans, or the places where Roman roads and stations are distinctly traceable.

The Itinera, however, form a valuable record for enabling us to trace many of the roads and stations, as they record distances as well as names, although there is reason to think that the numerals have in places been altered.

Four principal lines of road have been popularly known as "the four Roman ways." In the time of Edward the Confessor, and probably much earlier, there were four roads in England protected by the king's peace. These were called Watlinge-strete, Fosse, Hickenilde-strete, and Ermine-strete.¹

Watling-street runs from London to Wroxeter. The Fosse from the sea coast near Seaton in Devonshire to Lincoln. The Ikenild-street from Iclingham near Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk, to Wantage in Berkshire, and on to Cirencester and Gloucester.

The Exning-street ran through the Fenny district of the east of England. These streets seem to have represented a combination of those portions of the Roman roads which in later times were adopted and kept in repair for the sake of traffic.²

These lines of road were in post-Roman times lines

¹ See "The Four Roman Ways," by Edwin Guest, D.C.L.; "Archæological Journal," vol. xiv., p. 99 and following.

² See Elton's "Origins of English History," pp. 338, 339; also Gale's "Essay towards Recovery of the Four Roman Ways," in Hearne's "Leland," vol. v., p. 116.

of traffic, and under royal protection, which was in after-times extended to all public roads known as the "King's high ways," but they are not the only Roman roads of importance which traversed the island.

The name of "Watling-street" became attached to other roads, as the Roman road beyond the Northumbrian wall, which crossed the Tyne at Corbridge and ran to the Frith of Forth at Cramond, bears that name; and the Roman road beyond Uriconium (Wroxeter) to Bravinium (Leintwarden) Salop, is also called Watling-street.

The street in Canterbury through which the road from London to Dover passes is known as Watling-street, and a street in London also bears that name. We have, therefore, several Watling-streets.

Two lines of road also bear the name of the Ickniel-street, or Hikenilde-street but there is some reason to believe that the Ickniel-street was only a British trackway and never became a true Roman road, though it may have been used by the Romans.¹ One line of Roman road, which was investigated and surveyed by Sir R. C. Hoare, and of which plans are given in his "Ancient Wiltshire," ran from the Severn at Uphill in Somerset all along the line of the Mendip Hills to Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum) in Wilts. This road traversed the mineral district of the Mendip Hills, and not only ancient lead-workings are found, but pigs of Roman lead have been discovered on its course, and many other Roman remains. By this

¹ See the Paper on the "Four Roman Ways," by Edwin Guest, D.C.L. "Archæological Journal," vol. xiv., p. 99.

road the mineral traffic of the mines was probably conveyed to Sorbiodunum (old Sarum), and thence to Bitterne, near Southampton, the ancient Clausentum, and thence to the Isle of Wight, where it was shipped for the Continent.

Another Roman road runs from Lydney, in the neighbourhood of Glo'ster (Glevum) into the Forest of Dean, where are the remains of ancient iron-workings, and many Roman remains have been found, especially at Weston, the ancient Ariconium. These are quite unknown to the Roman Itinera, but are, nevertheless, undoubtedly Roman roads, and have been in use from early times of the Roman occupation.

A Roman road has been traced from near the Land's End to Exeter, and another takes the line of the southern portion of the promontory of the Damnonii, until it unites with the Foss-road in Somerset.

The roads which penetrated the principality of Wales are numerous, and in many places well defined, and also the stations.

An account of them is given in Hoare's introduction to Giraldus Cambrensis, and also in a more recent paper in the "Journal of the Archæological Association" (vol. xxiv., 1868).

From Venta Silurum and Isca Silurum, the stations of the 2nd legion, a road can be traced through Neath and Caermarthen as far as St. David's Head (Octapitarum Promontorium), and another road called the Sarn Helen runs along the western side of the principality to Caernarvon (Segontium).

A road also from Caerleon penetrated into the

interior of Wales, and is traced to *Caer Sws*, a fortified station, and thence to *Mediolanum* (*Claud Coch*), where it meets the road from *Urconium* to *Segontium*. The road from Chester passed through *Bodfari* to the shore of the *Menai Strait* near *Conovium* (*Caer Rhun*) and thence into *Anglesea*.

It will be seen from this how completely the principality was intersected with roads and stations, and how firm a grasp was placed upon the country by the Roman forces. Between *Caerleon* on *Usk* and *Chester* are eight or nine stations, three of which—*Uriconium*, *Magnæ* (*Kinchester*), and *Ariconium* (*Weston*)—must have been considerable towns, judging from the size of the fortified enclosures and the Roman remains which have been found.

The “*Itinera of Antonine*,” which are carried along the Welsh roads, are the portions of the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and part of the 2nd.

The Romans seem to have drawn considerable mineral wealth from the lead mines of Wales, as is indicated by the remains of their workings. Articles of Roman manufacture are found in Ireland, and a collection of these has been made by the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. The objects found tend to show that, although the Roman arms did not extend into that island, yet their commerce did, and this was probably carried on through *Anglesea* and the shores of North Wales.

Connected with the Roman roads are the “*milliaries*,” or Roman mile-stones, which have been found on the lines of Roman road. About fifty-six

have been recorded, and some of them have inscriptions which are legible. One of the latest discovered was at Lincoln, A.D. 1879; it is of the time of Victorinus. The inscription on that found at Leicester is as follows, and may serve as a specimen of the rest :—

IMP. CAES.
DIV. TRAIANI. PARTH. F. NER. NEP.
TRAIAN. HADRIAN. AVG. P.P. TRIB.
POT. IV. COS. III.
A.RATIS. II.

First come the imperial titles, by which the date of erection is known, and this marks the completion of the road, or its repair. The lower part has the name of the place and the distance. This is of the date A.D. 120 or 121, and the distance is marked from Leicester (*Ratæ*). It stood on the Fosse-road. None have as yet been found earlier than the reign of Hadrian, or later than that of Constantine the Younger (A.D. 336); so that the period of road-making, as far as it can be gathered from lapidary records, extended over a period of 216 years, but probably much longer.¹

They have been found in Cornwall and on the lines of road in the south of Britain; eight or ten in Wales; twelve in the Midland Counties; nine along the western part of Britain, in Lancashire and Westmoreland; six along the Great North Road (called commonly Watling-street), in Yorkshire and Durham; and seven along the Northumberland wall, one only standing erect.

¹ See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxiv., p. 395.

The method of constructing the roads varies according to the character of the country through which they passed, and the materials at hand. They are raised above the surrounding surface of the land, and run in a straight line from station to station. A portion of the Fosse-road which remains at Radstock, about ten miles south-west of Bath, which was opened in February, 1881, showed the following construction :—

1. Pavimentum, or foundation, fine earth, hard beaten in.
2. Statumen, or bed of the road, composed of large stones, sometimes mixed with mortar.
3. Ruderatio, or small stones well mixed with mortar.
4. Nucleus, formed by mixing lime, chalk, pounded brick or tile ; or gravel, sand, and lime mixed with clay.
5. Upon this was laid the surface of the paved road, technically called the “Summum dorsum.”

Other roads do not show the same elaborate construction, but they have resisted the wear of ages, and would have remained to the present time if not obliterated by the hand of man. Many have been destroyed in the present age for the sake of road material. In marshy lands the roads were constructed on piles ; these have been found in the approach to Lincoln from the south. The roads varied in breadth, having generally a width of fifteen feet. The name of “street” commonly attaches to

their course—*viæ stratae*—and this appellation continues where the road has been entirely effaced.

Posting-stations, called "*mansiones*," were placed at intervals varying from seven to twenty miles apart. These were probably in the first instance military stations, but afterwards used for transit of goods and passengers. The remains of one of them was found in the line of the Fosse-road, near Camerton, south of Bath.

Connected with the great lines of road are the geographical charts which remain. The first of these constructed at Rome was in the time of Julius Cæsar, who obtained an order from the Senate for measuring all the parts of the Roman world subject to the Roman government. The work was conducted by Greek mathematicians, and the survey was continued under Augustus. Marcus Agrippa his friend caused a map of the then known world to be painted on his portico, and this practice of painting maps on porticos was continued to the time of Diocletian. Persons were allowed to copy portions of these for private use, and they were also painted on the walls of schools.

As the limits of the Empire were extended, portions were added to the imperial maps, and these became generally useful to military commanders, and were also allowed to those having the direction of the posts.

One of them relating to Britain has come down to our own time, known as the "*Tabula Peutingeriana*." This is supposed to be of the time of Theodosius

the Great (A.D. 379), and contains the southern and eastern portions of Britain. The fragment is imperfect, but is an interesting specimen of the manner in which towns and stations with their connecting roads were delineated. The table has a certain correspondence with the *Itinera*, but it is much mutilated, and the names imperfectly or wrongly written, probably by an unskilful copyist. It is, however, a very interesting example of an early Roman map.

The Roman mile, or "mille passus," was shorter than the English mile, and the distances marked in Roman miles between the stations in the *Itinera* differ in their ratio to English miles in different parts. For twenty miles around London they correspond nearly to our English miles, but afterwards vary, perhaps through the inequality or turns in the roads. Horsley gives the mean proportion as fourteen Roman to thirteen English miles, and the Roman mile is generally reckoned as 4,854 English feet.

CHAPTER XIV.

Constantine the Great and his Successors, to the final Abandonment of Britain by the Romans. A.D. 305-410.

CONSTANTINE, on the death of his father, Constantius, was proclaimed emperor at York. As the names of Vespasian and Titus are connected with Britain, so is that of Constantine. The two former were instrumental in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fulfilment of our Lord's prophetic warnings respecting it. The latter was, under divine guidance, made the means of establishing the Christian Church in the Roman Empire. The western portion of the Empire beyond the Alps was first under the rule of Constantine, and after the defeat of Maxentius, at the Milvian bridge near Rome, he became sole ruler.

We have reason to think, from the little notice taken of Britain by Roman historians in the days of Constantine, that the condition of the island was peaceable, and that improvements were going on.

The finding of milliaries bearing his name and titles, in the lines of Roman road, gives the idea that road-making was in full progress. Constantine had been for some time in Britain, and seems to have had wars with the Picts and Scots beyond the northern barrier, but he became sole emperor A.D.

323, and previous to that he had more important wars with his competitors for empire.

An inscription to this emperor is found on the line of the Northumbrian wall, which shows that it was then held by the Roman forces.

Changes, as it has been shown, were made in the manner of governing Britain in the reign of Constantine. This is confirmed from the altered titles of chief officers, but we have no very minute details given by historians. Great quantities of the coins of this emperor have been found in Britain, and it seems certain that the southern portion of Britain enjoyed tranquillity, while the northern was harassed by the tribes beyond the barrier.

The remains of Roman villas, so abundant in Britain, especially towards the south and west, indicate quiet possession, as well as the public works which were carried on in his reign.

At the death of Constantine, when the Roman Empire was divided among his three sons, Britain fell to the share of the eldest, Constantine II. When he was slain near Aquileia, in the third year of his reign, Britain fell under the rule of Constans, as Emperor of the West.

The Picts and Scots had again renewed their incursions, and Constans came over into Britain to repel the invasion. The events of this campaign, which were recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus, have been lost with the former part of his history. Constans was killed A.D. 350, and Magnentius, who then usurped the government of the West, was conquered by

Constantius, the surviving son of Constantine the Great (A.D. 353). At the death of Magnentius, Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, who was afterwards emperor, had the government of Britain.

Ammianus Marcellinus records further inroads of the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, and that Lupicinius, a skilful military leader, was sent into Britain to repel them. He landed at Rutupæ and marched to London, then called Augusta (circa 361).

In the time of Julian, Alypius is mentioned as Governor of Britain, but he was afterwards banished. Julian (the Apostate) died A.D. 363, and was succeeded by Jovian, who died the year following.

This seems to have been a period of great trouble in Britain, and we find the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti now leagued with the Saxons, who attacked the island on the southern shore. This was called the "Saxon shore," and was under the care of an officer called the "Count of the Saxon Shore." Nectarides, who held this office, was slain, and Fullofaudes, the Roman commander was drawn into ambush by the enemy. In the time of the Emperor Arcadius, Maximus, who had served in Britain under Theodosius, was taken and beheaded. This happened A.D. 368. A commander named Severus was sent over to defend the Roman province, but he was recalled and succeeded by Jovinus. Matters seem to have gone badly until the arrival of Theodosius (A.D. 369), who, having marched to London, came upon the enemy engaged in plundering the country. He succeeded

in driving them back and recovering the spoil they had gathered. He also recovered the provincial forts and cities, and extended his march to the barrier of the wall, which he strengthened or repaired, and erected some new forts. He does not seem to have proceeded further than the wall in Northumberland, as none of the stations on the barrier of Antoninus are mentioned in the "Notitia," or list of Roman forces, which was drawn up at this time. We may judge of the formidable foes against which the Roman province had to contend, when we find them penetrating so far into the south, and forcing their way through so formidable a barrier as the wall of Hadrian.

Many inscriptions remain which record the rebuilding of public edifices, and the stations which have been carefully examined bear traces of reconstruction and frequent alteration or repair. The sites of villas also give evidence of reconstruction after being destroyed by fire or mischance; and it is probable that before the coming of Theodosius the province suffered greatly. When he left the island he gave the name of "Valentia" to the northern portion, in honour of the Emperor Valentinian. A governor named Fraomarius was appointed in his place.

The exploits of Theodosius have been celebrated by the poet Claudian.

Under Theodosius the Younger (A.D. 393) Chrysanthus is mentioned by Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, as "Vicarius" of Britain, and he afterwards

became Bishop of the Church of the Novatians at Constantinople.

Stilicho is celebrated by Claudian for his exploits in Britain, and this was the last real effort of Roman power to retain possession of the island, as Britain was finally abandoned by the Romans in the time of Theodosius the Second.

Constantine the usurper was chosen in Britain by the soldiery, and passed over into Gaul, taking with him the flower of the British youth serving in the Roman forces; and this left the fortresses in the island insufficiently garrisoned to resist the active inroads of the Picts and Scots, who again harassed the island.

The latest reliable accounts of the Romans in Britain are obtained from the "Notitia," already mentioned, and drawn up in the time of Theodosius II. Two legions were then remaining in Britain, besides auxiliary forces, and the country was in possession of the Romans as far as the wall of Hadrian. The garrisons on the wall were held at that time, as well as those on the Kentish coast, but the other garrisoned stations were neglected or abandoned. The Roman power became low about A.D. 425, and seems to have died out about A.D. 446. Coins of Arcadius and Honorius have been found in Britain, but not those of Valentinian, and the inscriptions as yet discovered do not go down to so late a period.

A very gloomy picture of the condition of Britain is given at the close of the Roman dominion, and after the arrangements in the government effected by

the Emperor Diocletian had been carried out ; if we may trust the account of Lactantius, Britain had become a department under the Court of Trèves, and was regarded as having the same political interests and a common stock of resources. "The defences of Britain were sacrificed to some sudden call of soldiers in Spain or on the Alpine passes, and the shrunken legions left behind could barely man the fortresses upon the frontier. The provinces which might have stood safely by their own resources were becoming involved in a general bankruptcy. The troops were ill-paid and were plundered by their commanders, the labourers sunk into serfdom, and the property of the rich was so heavily charged by the State that the owners would have gladly escaped by resigning their apparent wealth. The burdens of taxation were constantly multiplied by the complexity of the system of government and the increase of departments and officers."

"The history of Britain during this period," says Mr. Elton, "so far as it can properly be said to have had a history at all, is concerned in the establishment of the Christian Church by which the general misery was alleviated, with several attempts at separating the three Atlantic countries from the crumbling Empire of the West, and finally with the growth of the barbarian kingdoms by which those countries were overwhelmed in their turn."¹

¹ Elton's "Origins of English History."

CHAPTER XV.

Growth of Cities in Britain during the period of the Roman occupation. London, Uriconium, and the cities on the borders of Wales.

AT the period when the Roman forces finally left Britain there existed, at the lowest computation, fifty walled towns, exclusive of the numerous military walled stations with their attendant suburbs.

The towns and stations were connected by excellent roads, and these were provided at fixed intervals with posting-stations, where relays of horses were kept.

The towns and stations possessed public buildings, such as temples, baths, theatres, remains of which have been preserved to the present day.

Remains of art and architectural decorations have been found, as well as bronze figures which have adorned places of public resort, and traces of domestic arrangement, as tessellated floors, and a variety of household utensils and articles of refinement. Literature and oratory or pleading was encouraged. All these denote a great advancement in civilisation from the date of Cæsar's landing, and make it clear that culture and commerce, literature and refinement, had succeeded to barbarism. The circuit of the walls of Roman cities, such as Silchester, Wroxeter, London,

Cirencester, Bath, and others have been accurately traced, and these have been found to enclose an area of from one to three miles in extent.

The lines of the streets have also been ascertained, and the plan is found to be rectangular. Very complete proofs of this have been obtained at Wroxeter and Silchester, where careful and well-directed excavations have been made.¹

As it would occupy too much space to describe each city, it may be more interesting to select a few and endeavour to explain their gradual growth, as well as their arrangement and principal buildings.

London, from its former mercantile importance, and from its present proud position as the Metropolis of Britain, may well claim the first notice, though it did not in Roman times stand first in importance. Happily in modern times it has had its ancient condition, which had well-nigh been forgotten and almost obliterated, carefully investigated, and the ancient remains, as far as they could be gathered up, collected and recorded.²

London is supposed to have had its first rise as a Roman town in a camp formed by the Roman general, Aulus Plautius, but this camp may have been preceded by a British stronghold on the banks of the Thames.

Its position on a noble river, well adapted for commerce, and in a fertile country, seems to have pointed

¹ See Wright's "Uriconium"; and the late Rev. J. G. Joyce's "Account of Silchester" in the "Archæological Journal."

² See Roach Smith's "Roman London."

it out as a fitting place for a permanent settlement, and the keen eye of the Roman conqueror was not slow to recognise its advantages.

Tacitus is the first Roman historian who makes mention of LONDINIUM, not, indeed, as the capital of Britain, or even endowed with the privileges and political rights of a colony, or even of a municipium, but a commercial town,—Camulodunum is mentioned as a “colony,” Verulamium (St. Alban’s) as a “municipium.”

These three are recorded as suffering great losses in the rising of the Britons under Queen Boadicea, and must have been thickly populated (see chap. v.). An examination of ancient British coins shows that during the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, coins were struck in Britain, and there is reason for thinking that this was done under Roman superintendence, but the names of Camulodunum and Verulamium only appear, so that London had not then the privilege of a mint, but this was accorded at a later period when Britain had assumed the form of a Roman province, and did not take place until the time of Constantine the Great. That London gradually increased in importance beyond the dignity of a commercial city is plain, from the mention of it in the Itinera, which show the number of marching roads beginning and terminating there,—twice Londinium begins an iter, and twice stands as a terminus, besides occurring as one of the stations in the other Itinera.

In the reign of Diocletian and Maximian it

was plundered by the foreign mercenaries in the army of Allectus, but these were afterwards defeated by the generals of Constantius, and the plunder retaken.

During the usurpations of Carausius and Allectus, gold, silver, and brass coins were struck in great numbers in Britain, and these bear the Mint-mark of Londinium (ML.) as well as of Rutupiæ and Clausentum, but the Mint-mark of London occurs the most frequently. The coins of Maximian have the letters LON., and were most probably struck in London, and those of Constantine and his family have P. LON. In the "Notitia" the Mint of London is not mentioned, but the City had received in the later part of the Roman occupation the title of "Augusta," and was the seat of the treasury of Britain, presided over by a special officer, called "præpositus thesaurorum Augustensium in Britannis."¹

Lupicinus, sent by Julian to repress the inroads of the Picts and Scots, fixed his head-quarters at Londinium, and Theodosius, when he came over from Boulogne to protect the island against the Franks and Saxons, as well as the Picts and Scots, marched from Rutupiæ to London, and there began his work of restoring tranquillity to the province.

London then bore the name of "Augusta," or "Londinium Augusta," and this title is only applied to cities of pre-eminent importance.

The area of Roman London was considerable, and,

¹ See Roach Smith's "Roman London," p. II.

from discoveries made at different times, appears to have extended with the growth of Roman power. The walls when the Romans left Britain reached from Ludgate, on the west, to the Tower on the east, about one mile in length, and from London Wall to the Thames, half a mile ; at an earlier period the limits of the City were more confined. It also extended across the river on the Kentish side, where remains of villas have been found, but this portion was not fortified. The fact of Roman buildings being found on that side of the river may account for Ptolemy the geographer having placed it in the country of the Cantii.

Portions of the fortified wall have been uncovered, and exhibit the usual Roman construction,—a facing of worked stone with bonding courses of brick at regular intervals, the interior being a mass of concrete, cemented with Roman mortar and red pounded tile. The foundations are laid on clay, with imbedded flints. It was strengthened by square projecting towers, and circular towers at the angles of the wall, the thickness of the wall being about 10 feet, and the height about 20 feet.

Although no traces of a Roman bridge have been found, as at Newcastle-on-Tyne, yet mention is made of a bridge over the Thames, and there can be little doubt that the two sides of the river were so connected. Some of the stations on the line of Roman roads take their names from bridges.

The date of the coins discovered on the site of Roman London extends from Augustus to Honorius.

Many have been dredged up from the bed of the river. The coins of the higher empire are most abundant from Claudius to Hadrian.

Memorial stones to soldiers of the 2nd and of the 20th legion, stamped tiles bearing the names of cohorts, and various funereal inscriptions have been found; altars with sculptured figures of the *Deæ Matres* and *Matronæ*, bearing inscriptions, have been dug up; and numerous tessellated pavements with elegant patterns, discovered, also portions of wall-painting with decorations of beautiful design. Many bronzes, one a fine head of the Emperor Hadrian, dredged out of the bed of the Thames a little below the site of old London Bridge, have been brought to light. The bronze head of Hadrian, now in the British Museum, belonged to a colossal statue which had once stood in some public place.

These are tokens of the importance of the city, and serve to show its wealth and refinement. Great varieties of pottery have been found, and remains of potter's kilns, as well as clay statuettes, and glass of great variety of pattern. These, however, are common to other Roman cities in Britain, as well as the objects of personal ornament, which are abundant.

Careful drawings of remains found in Londinium are given in Mr. Roach Smith's work on "Roman London."

Other Roman cities, the sites of which are now deserted, or only represented by small villages, have yielded similar objects.

The site of Uriconium, now represented by the

village of Wroxeter, two miles distant from the Wrekin Hill in Shropshire, and four miles from Shrewsbury, on the eastern side of the River Severn, extends over an area full three miles in circuit, a small part of which has only been excavated in recent times. This has produced a variety of objects, which are preserved in the museum at Shrewsbury. The result of excavations has shown not only remains of the Basilica, and of a system of baths, but also the rectangular form of the streets, and some other public buildings, the frontage of which still remained. The area of the ancient city is marked by the black colour of the soil within the walls, and the site of the gates, and the cemetery beyond the northern gate, have been ascertained, and several inscribed stones have been found.

These are recorded in Mr. Wright's volume, and in other publications. The boundary of the city is very irregular, and it seems only to have been fortified with an earthen rampart and ditch, though probably the site of the original station, out of which grew the Roman city, has not yet been discovered. Like London, it is made the terminus of one of the *iters*, and the Roman road to North Wales, as well as that which went to Caerleon in South Wales, passed through *Uriconium*. A military road also connected it with Chester, the quarters of the 20th legion, and other Roman roads, branching off from the main lines, have been traced not far from this city. It was evidently a town of much importance, and connected with the extensive lead-

mining operations which were carried on among the mountains of Wales and Shropshire.

The city is placed, by the geographer, Ptolemy, in the country of the Cornavii. A funereal monument to a soldier of the 14th legion has been found, which shows that the city was occupied at an early date, since that legion left Britain about A.D. 69. The Roman towns bordering on Wales were most probably founded during the wars against the Silures, under the Proprætors Ostorius, Didius, Veranius, and Suetonius. Traces of Roman mining are found in the mountains and hills of Denbighshire, Flintshire, Salop, and Montgomery. The mines in the Stiperstone Hills (Salop) have traces of Roman workings, and a pig of lead found in Hampshire, bearing the stamp of Nero (4th consulate), fixes the date to the year before the rising under Queen Boadicea. This lead may have come from the mines in Somerset, or Salop, as it seems to have been dropped on the way for exportation to the Continent ; but other pigs of Roman lead, of the date of Vespasian (A.D. 76), have been found, which have the stamp DE CEANG, which would fix them to the country bordering on the coast of Cheshire, while others have been found to the north of Bishop's Castle in Shropshire, at Snead, More, Shelve, apparently from the mines in Shelve Hill, with the stamp of the Emperor Hadrian, about A.D. 120. All these show that the mines were in work at an early period of Roman occupation, and the same is noticeable of the lead-workings in the Mendip Hills. Roman villas have also been uncovered in

this portion of Roman Britain, indicating a tranquil possession of the country after the time of Agricola. Such remains have been found in the neighbourhood of Uriconium, which appears from its extent to have been the most important city of this part of Britain, and a centre of commerce and civilisation. The remains of an ancient British stronghold exist on the Wrekin Hill, as well as on the Caer Caradoc, a lofty hill near Church Stretton, within sight of Uriconium, and probably once a stronghold of the British chief whose name it bears. Several other fortified hills in Shropshire and Herefordshire also bear his name. It is probable that they ceased to be occupied as British fortresses after the date of the Roman occupation.

Uriconium probably had its rise in the time of Ostorius Scapula, who built fortresses against the Silures. It is not mentioned in any Roman writer before the time of the geographer, Ptolemy (A.D. 120), and the name does not recur again till it is met with in the *Itinera* of Antoninus, supposed to be about the date A.D. 320. It is mentioned as the termination of the road which, coming from Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*), passed by Abergavenny (*Gobannium*) to Kenchester (*Magna*), thence past Bravinium (near Leintwarden) to Wroxeter. These towns were all much inferior in size to Uriconium, and though the name of *Magna* (Kenchester), near Hereford, might have led to a different belief, yet the area it covered is much smaller than the area of Uriconium.

The coins which have been found on the site of that city date from the Emperor Tiberius to the time of

the Emperor Gratian, and thus embrace a period of nearly four hundred years. Consular coins have also been found. The name of "Uriconium," also written "Viroconium," seems to be derived from the Wrekin Hill, a conspicuous object from its site, where exist the remains of very early British intrenchments. The situation commands not only the River Severn, which fortifies it on the western side, but also a very fertile vale extending from the Bridden Hills to the neighbourhood of Iron Bridge. The remains which have been found from a very limited examination of its site mark the extent of the civilisation and refinement when it met with what appears to have been a sudden and overwhelming destruction. The probable date of this can only be partially inferred from the coins discovered; a collection of these was found along with the skeleton of a man who had taken refuge in a hypocaust, as it is supposed, when the city was taken. These are of the latest Roman period, and among them are "minimi," which were in circulation after the Romans abandoned Britain.

From the time of Severus the Roman province was divided into Upper and Lower Britain, and, according to Dion Cassius, the legions stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk, and Chester-on-the-Dee, were in *Upper Britain*, the legion located at York was in *Lower Britain*.

"This," says Professor Rhys, "has been supposed to prove that the Romans were guided in their division of the island by the parallels of latitude rather than by the natural features of the country.

. . . It has, however, occurred to an Italian Archæologist, that it was the custom of the Romans to call the portion of country nearest to Rome *upper*, and that further off *lower*. . . . The Romans, however, seem not to have despised the test of running water as to what was upper and what was lower. This is plain, from the portion of Germany near the mouth of the Rhine being called Lower, and the portion higher up Upper; likewise, in the same manner on the Danube there is Upper Pannonia and Upper Moesia, situated in the same relation to *Lower Pannonia* and *Lower Mæsia*, and the same rule seems to hold respecting Dalmatia and Egypt. . . . So it is natural to suppose that Upper Britain was that part of Roman Britain which the legions had to approach by marching in the direction of the sources of the Thames, and of the streams that meet to form the Humber.

“In the arrangement made by Diocletian, and perfected by Constantine the Great, the two Britains were subdivided,—Upper Britain into *prima* and *secunda*, and Lower Britain into *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Flavia Cæsariensis*. (See Professor Rhys’ “Celtic Britain,” p. 93.)

CHAPTER XVI.

Roman Cities continued. Cirencester, Silchester, Bath, Caerleon, Caerwent, Chester, Colchester, and Lincoln.

ANOTHER city which may serve to illustrate the condition of Britain under the Roman dominion was Cirencester, the ancient *Corinium*. This was situated in the country of the *Dobuni* (Gloucestershire), and no doubt had its rise when that tribe was brought under the Roman power.

The Roman walls have been traced, and portions still remain. They run in the form of a parallelogram, and enclose an area of two miles in circuit, within which numerous traces of public buildings have been found, as well as fine tessellated floors. The present town of Cirencester stands within a portion of this area, but the erection of houses, and the formation of streets, have gradually effaced the plan of the Roman city.

The wall was about fifteen feet high and ten thick, composed of concrete with stone facing on the outer side and banked up with earth on the inner, and a deep ditch beyond; on two sides the river *Corin*, on which the city stands, had been diverted into the ditch so as to form a natural defence.

Five Roman roads diverge from this city. The *Ermine-street*, north and south; the *Ackman-streets*,

east and west; and the Fosse, running diagonally across the island. Corinium was the chief city of the district known as the Cotteswold Hills, along the ridges of which run a line of camps irregular in form, overlooking the valley of the Severn, and all bearing traces of Roman occupation, and supposed to have been occupied by Ostorius previous to his invasion of the Silures.¹ Corinium lies considerably within this line of forts commanding the Severn valley, and is supposed to have succeeded a British city.

The Roman town was, no doubt, planted here before Glo'ster (Glevum) on the bank of the Severn, which became an important military station in the war with the Silures, and which has still traces of its strength and importance. The remains of architecture which have been found within the walls of Corinium attest it to have been adorned with fine and imposing structures, and the beautiful tessellated floors which are found both within the circuit of the walls and beyond are tokens of the elegance and refinement of the occupants. The neighbourhood also abounds in remains of elegant villas, and indicates a long and peaceable possession of the district, and the cultivation of art and refinement of taste.

Outside the walls of the city are the remains of an amphitheatre.

In recent times all the relics of Roman art and manufacture have been preserved, and placed in a museum built some years since at the cost of the

¹ See "Archæologia," vol. xix., p. 161-175.

Earl Bathurst, but previous to that the sculptured stones and fragments of vessels or curious works of art have been scattered or destroyed. An account of the city and its remains has been drawn up by Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch (1850).

Corinium lies in the direct line of Roman road from Silchester to Gloucester, both cities of importance in Roman times.

Monuments with sepulchral inscriptions have been found to soldiers of the Roman cavalry, one to a horse soidier of the "Ala Indiana," and a citizen of Rauricum; another to a horse soldier of the "Ala Thracum," a citizen of Frisia, so that it is probable that Corinium was a cavalry station. The coins which have been found extend from the time of the Emperor Augustus to Honorius, who died A.D. 423, and thus embrace the whole period of Roman occupation. Among the patterns of wall-painting which had decorated the houses of Corinium was found the following acrostic :—

SATOR

AREPO

TENET

OPERA

ROTAS

which is supposed to be the formula of a magical charm, and which can be read from left to right, or from right to left, upwards or downwards, indifferently.

SILCHESTER, in Hampshire, the Roman Calleva Atrebatum, was another important Roman town.

The wall still remains, but denuded of its outer facing, the position of the four gates has been ascertained. The circuit was about a mile and a half, and within this have been traced not only the lines of street and the course of the main roads, but the forum has been uncovered, and also the remains of temples, as well as houses, with their tessellated floors. The site of the city since the time of its destruction seems never to have been disturbed, and recent excavations, undertaken by the liberality of the present Duke of Wellington, the owner of the property, have revealed the plan and arrangement of a Roman town in Britain, as well as produced a great variety of manufactured articles and coins.

It seems, like other Roman cities, to have taken the place of a previous British stronghold of the Segontii, called *Caer Segont*. These were driven out by a succeeding tribe from Gaul, called the *Atrebatii*, who held possession of this part of Britain till they were brought under Roman rule, when the city took the name of *Calleva Atrebatum*.

The plan of the forum has been distinctly ascertained,¹ and measurements of the buildings within it have been made. It stood in the centre of the city, forming nearly a perfect square, the sides facing the cardinal points, having an open area in the centre of the space, and the basilica, or court-house, with the curia, or council-chamber, on the west side; and on each side of these were halls or rooms for conducting

¹ See "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xxx., p. 22.

business. An outer ambulatory ran round the whole space occupied by the forum and basilica. Within this were a succession of offices connected with the forum, and in front of these an inner ambulatory. The main entrance was from the east.

The style and arrangement of these buildings resembles what was uncovered at Uriconium; but at Silchester the entire area of the forum has been laid open, and the plan ascertained; this renders the result of the excavations particularly valuable, because it gives a clear idea of the arrangement of a Roman town in Britain in the time of Hadrian or Constantine the Great.

The site of Corinium has been built upon, and that of Uriconium only very partially uncovered, but at Silchester no pains have been spared to ascertain the nature of the buildings, and the form of the streets and market-place. The walls, though built similar to those of Cirencester, and about nine feet thick, had supports to strengthen them on the inside at regular intervals; these supports are stone buttresses with perpendicular faces, which (according to Mr. Joyce's account) appear to be integral portions of the original construction. The wall had a wide fosse, the width being about 100 feet, and its depth at present twelve feet, though probably originally much more.

Like Cirencester and Dorchester, Silchester has an amphitheatre outside the walls at the north-eastern corner. Formerly the ranges of seats could be traced, now they are becoming obliterated. There are two

entrances, one towards the town and the others directly opposite to it.

The arrangements of many of the houses within the town have been laid bare, and been described by the late Rev. J. G. Joyce, who so ably carried out the excavations through the liberality of the owner of the estate.

In the course of clearing the roads adjoining the curia, a bronze Roman eagle, which had once surmounted a Roman standard, was discovered. Only three inscribed stones are reported to have been found at Silchester—one a dedication to the Segontian Hercules, a dedication to Julia Augusta, and a memorial stone. The oldest coin discovered, and at the lowest depth in excavating, is one of Augustus, and can be fixed to about A.D. 50. At a lesser depth were found coins of Antoninus Pius and Commodus, and, still nearer the surface, coins of Gallienus, Victorinus, and Claudius II. Nearest of all were found numbers of small bronze coins, "folles" of the time of Diocletian, Maximian, Carausius, Constantine and his successors, down to the termination of the Roman dominion in Britain.

Silchester was the centre of three military roads, one coming from Clausentum (Bitterne, near Southampton) and passing through Winchester (Venta Belgarum); another coming from Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum), where Roman remains have been found, and passing through Andover, along what is known as the Portway; and the great line of road from Londinium, which crosses the island from the Thames to the

Severn at Aust. These roads mark it out, therefore, as a place of great importance, which the remains found within amply testify.

The last-mentioned road, which led to the estuary of the Severn, connected Silchester with a city of a different character though equally important, and which has yielded remains not less interesting and even more abundant, especially inscribed stones. This was *Aquæ Solis*, or Bath, sometimes written "*Aquæ Sulis*," on account of the many altars found there dedicated to the goddess Sul, who appears to have been the presiding divinity. This city, famous for its hot springs, situated on the river Avon in a beautiful and fertile vale, appears from its remains to have come very early under Roman rule, most probably in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, when the south-western part of the island was reduced by Suetonius.

The remains of the ancient walls have been traced; they enclosed an area of about one mile in circuit. Within these walls was a perfect system of baths, which extended over a large area. Portions of them were uncovered as early as A.D. 1755, and subsequently in 1763, but within the last two years much more has come to light in the process of improving the city drainage, and the large reservoir receiving the hot springs which gave name to the Roman city has been cleared out, so as to render the plan and arrangement of the baths more clear.

These are the most perfect and extensive yet known in Roman Britain; and, as the excavations at Silchester have led to an accurate plan of the Roman

Forum there, so the discoveries at Bath have led to the knowledge of the construction and arrangements of Roman baths for health and luxury. No city for its size has been more productive of architectural remains and articles of refinement and elegance. Although the modern city occupies all the site of the Roman, and extends much beyond it, yet happily the altars and inscribed stones have either been recorded or preserved, and these, with the passing allusions of Roman writers, give an insight into its wealth and importance. It is doubtful if it was ever a place of military importance, but rather for recovery of health and retirement from the fatigues of duty. Tombstones to legionaries, both foot and horse soldiers, have been found, and a stone dug up at Combe Down, a village about a mile to the south, seems to show that Roman military officers had their quarters there ; but no tiles or bricks have been found bearing any legionary stamp. This may partly be accounted for by the walls and principal buildings being constructed entirely of stone, which is abundant in the quarries all around Bath, and is extensively worked at the present day.

The frontage of a fine temple is still preserved in the vestibule of the Literary Institution, and also of a smaller one, and the architectural details seem to carry the date of construction back to the time of the Emperor Titus. Fragments of very elegant sculpture have been found from time to time, and also the remains of three temples, as well as tessellated floors some portions of which are still preserved. Extensive

remains of Roman villas have been found in every direction around the city, some, as at Wellow, three miles to the south-west, with very elegant mosaic patterns, and also fragments of architectural details.¹

The Fosse-road coming from the sea-coast near to Seaton, on the river Axe, and passing through the Roman town Ilchester (Ischalis), entered Bath on the south, and crossing the river, where the modern bridge now stands, passed out through the north gate in the direction of Cirencester. The Roman road from Silchester entered it from the east, and passing through the suburb of Walcot quitted it at Weston, going on to the Severn, near its junction with the Avon.

The coins that have been discovered in Bath extend from the date of Claudius to that of Gratian, and even later, and cover a period of more than three centuries. They are found also in the neighbourhood, as at Combe Down, and at Bitton, a station on the line of Roman road leading to the Severn, and to the passage into South Wales.

The above are inland cities, and, though fortified and held by Roman garrisons, were not the fixed stations of the legions that held Britain.

A few words may, therefore, be said of the vestiges that remain of such stations.

First, there is CAERLEON on Usk, with its companion city, seven miles to the east, Caerwent. Very extensive remains have been found in these stations, within and without the walls.

¹ See "Aquæ Solis ; or, Notices of Roman Bath," pub. 1864.

The walls of Caerleon are mostly destroyed, but their circuit can still be traced. They presented an oblong form, with rounded angles at the four corners. Everywhere records of the "Leg. II. Augusta" are met with, both on the tiles which are turned up and on the monumental stones put up to soldiers of that legion. Tessellated floors are found within the city and also beyond the walls. The city stood on the river Usk, which surrounds it on two sides and gives its name to it, but it is thought to have taken the place of a still earlier British city. It is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis as still retaining in his time marks of its former importance, having remains of temples, theatres, and high walls and a lofty tower. Nothing now remains but the foundations of the walls and the pavements. Happily in recent times a museum has been built for receiving any vestiges which are turned up from time to time in digging. Many inscriptions have thus been collected and preserved, and these have been recorded and illustrated by Mr. John Edw. Lee, in his delineations published in 1845, and his Illustrated Catalogue, in 1862.

The amphitheatre without the walls is very perfect, and popularly known as "Arthur's Round Table."

Chester (DEVA), the location of the 20th legion, styled V. V., Valeria Victrix, retains its ancient walls embodied into the mediæval, except on the side where the castle now stands. The interior of the area being built over by the modern streets, the arrangement of the Roman town has been lost, but fine public buildings of Roman date have in recent times been

discovered,¹ and tiles bearing the stamp of the 20th legion. Many altars have also been found, one with a Greek inscription, "To the gods the preservers,"² dedicated by Hermogenes, a physician. We have instances of other altars found in Britain, with Greek inscriptions, also stones in different places recording the names of medical officers belonging to the Roman forces.

As Caerleon and Chester were the head-quarters of two legions on the western side of Britain, so we have two stations on the eastern side, Colchester and Lincoln, which mark the position of other legions.

The walls of COLCHESTER (Camulodunum) and one of the gates remain, so as to be traced accurately.

The first name of this colony is supposed to have been "Claudia," afterwards "Victricensis," derived from the occupation of the 14th legion.³ It was celebrated for the temple of Claudius, recorded to have been erected there, and the sad consequences which afterwards ensued, and which have already been recounted. Much interest, therefore attaches to this city; and the ancient remains preserved in the old Norman keep of the mediæval castle will well repay a visit. Remains are being continually discovered. Lately a Roman potter's kiln was found, and some years ago the figure of a sphinx,

¹ See "Journal of Archæological Association," vol. xxii., p. 376.

² See "Corpus Inscript. Lat.," vol. vii., p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34; also Orell, 208.

which had probably ornamented a tomb. A very perfect stone to the memory of a centurion of the 20th legion, with the figure well carved, is now in a private collection. Colchester is at the present day known as a military station, and evinces the good judgment of the Romans in selecting this site.

LINCOLN (Lindum) is not less remarkable than Colchester, both as to its position and the Roman remains found there. Unhappily these have been dispersed, and not kept together on the spot, as at Colchester and Caerleon. Some are deposited in the British Museum, the remainder have fallen into private hands. The city presents the appearance of having been twice enlarged after its first settlement, and to have succeeded an older British town. One of the gates, the northern, remains almost perfect, and is a very interesting specimen of a Roman gate, having a main arch and side entrances.

The castle and the cathedral precincts have encroached upon the Roman walls, though portions of these remain in certain places. The position of the city is fine and commanding, and it was the centre of four roads which met there, one passing from Colchester through Cambridge and Castor (the ancient Durobrivæ, famous for its potteries) to Lincoln, the other the Fosse, already mentioned, which went through Lincoln to the sea-coast at the estuary of the Humber, and the remaining two going to Doncaster (Danum), and to Winteringham on the Humber. What adds to the interest of Lincoln is the Carr Dike, a Roman work formed for the draining of

the Lincolnshire Fens, and used by them also as a road.

Monumental stones to soldiers of the 9th, the 6th, the 2nd, and the 14th legions, have been found at Lincoln, and one very interesting "milliary" in the centre of the city. Twenty inscriptions in all have been found and recorded.

CHAPTER XVII.

Roman Landing-places in Britain, and Stations for Protection of the Coast from Attacks of Northern Pirates.

IN treating of the Roman occupation of Britain and the cities they planted, their stations and landing-places on the coast require some notice. The principal of these were on the Kentish coast, for by these the line of communication with the Continent was maintained.

The principal of these were Rutupiæ (Richborough), Portus Dubris (Dover), and Portus Lemanis (Lymne). There was also Regulbium (Reculver) at the opposite side of the Isle of Thanet, which was then separated from the main land of Britain by a Strait, or series of marshes, called the Wantsum. The most considerable remains of Roman occupation are found at Richborough, where the walls of the station are in some places almost perfect, and attest the strength of the position.

They form three sides of a square, the fourth being open to the river Stour, which now flows past, but where once probably the waves washed the landing place, as the sea has retired very far along this part of the coast. A line of Roman road runs from Rutupiæ to Durovernum (Canterbury).

The wall of the station, which now stands in places

30 feet high, extends 560 feet in length, and is most perfect on the northern side, the facing of the wall still remaining untouched in places. The masonry is composed of layers of squared stones, held together with bonding courses of tile, passing through the thickness of the wall. At the angles of the castrum are circular towers, and the face of the wall, on each side between the angles, is strengthened by square towers. The main entrance was near the middle of the western wall. Within the area is a mass of masonry forming a solid platform, 145 ft. long by 104 ft. wide, deeply imbedded in the earth, and upon this another solid mass of masonry is built in the form of a cross, between 4 and 5 ft. in thickness. This probably supported a wooden superstructure, which may have carried a lanthorn, and served the purpose of a beacon, or else a military tower for the protection of the landing-place.

At the distance of 500 yards from the castrum, towards the south-west, are the remains of an amphitheatre.

A great quantity of Roman coins have been found at Richborough; they extend over a period of 400 years, beginning with consular coins and ending with those of Constantine III.

Rutupiæ is frequently mentioned by Roman writers, viz., by Ptolemy, the geographer, and by Lucan the poet, also by Ausonius, by Ammianus Marcellinus, and by Orosius, by Juvenal, who speaks of the excellence of its oyster-beds—by the chorographer Ravenna, and in the Peutingerian Tablet. From the

“Notitia” we know that, previous to the abandonment of the island by the Romans, the 2nd legion, having been withdrawn from its old quarters at Caerleon-on-Usk, was stationed at Rutupiæ, and it is most probable that thence it sailed when finally taking leave of Britain.

Though the Roman remains at Dover are not so extensive as at Richborough, yet it held a very important position as a landing-place in Roman times. The remains of the ancient pharos, or light-house, still exist. The form is octagonal without, and square within. The walls are 10 ft. thick and 40 ft. high, but additions have been made to the original Roman work. The Roman town seems to have stood in the hollow between the hills now occupied by the modern town, for foundations of houses have been uncovered and Roman coins are picked up. Tiles are found impressed with the letters CL. BR. which may be read “Classiarii Britannici,” or marines in the Roman service.

Another very remarkable fortified landing-place was at Lymne, to the west of Dover and Folkestone. This haven was connected by roads with Canterbury and the other Roman stations, both inland and on the coast.

It is mentioned in the fourth Iter of Antoninus. Ptolemy mentions it under the title of the *Καινὸς λιμήν* or the “New Haven,” perhaps to distinguish it from Porchester, *Μεγας λιμήν*, the great harbour, or it may have taken its name from *λίμνη*, “the marsh,” where it is situated. The chorographer

Ravenna mentions the station "Lemanis" as situated on the River Lemana, and in the Table of Peutinger it is marked on the sea-coast together with Dover and Richborough.

An account of the interesting remains of this station—now lying overthrown by a landslip, towers and walls no longer erect, but a confused mass of ruin—is given by Mr. Roach Smith in his report of the excavations made there in 1850, and by Mr. Wright in his "Wanderings of an Antiquary." He says :—"The appearance of the walls when uncovered was extremely interesting. The lower part is in perfect condition, and the facing-stones retained a freshness almost as if they had been recently wrought. The round towers which were in the exterior of the wall had been built up solid and attached to the wall. Several small entrances were traced, with one or two vaults or chambers in the wall. The grand entrance was in the middle of the eastern side looking towards Dover and Folkestone. This had consisted apparently of an arch between two small semicircular towers."

The landslip appears to have happened later than the Roman period, as a Saxon coin of King Edgar (A.D. 959-975) was found in the course of excavating.

The materials of the walls have been used for building purposes since the time of this overthrow, but the houses, *i.e.*, the upper portions, had been destroyed previously.

The Roman fortress of Reculver, the ancient

Regulbium, situated at the north-western angle of the Isle of Thanet at the outlet of the Wantsum, was of inferior importance to Richborough, though fortified by a rectangular wall, and mentioned in the "Notitia" as the station of the first cohort of the Vetasians under a tribune.

This marks its inferiority to Richborough, which was under the "Præpositus," or commander of the 2nd legion. No reference to it is made in any of the Itinera, though it seems to have been connected with Canterbury by a direct road, nor have any inscriptions been found there.

We have, therefore, four Roman fortresses at this corner of Kent lying opposite the coast of France, all of which have preserved undoubted marks of Roman occupation to the latest period.

It would occupy too much space to attempt to describe others, as Pevensey, supposed to have been the ancient "Anderida," where very interesting remains still exist. It may not, however, be amiss to mention the list of garrisons given in the "Notitia," as stations in this part of Britain under the command of the "Count of the Saxon Shore," as the Roman officer is styled in that document.

The "Notitia" is supposed to have been compiled previous to A.D. 450, and probably in the time of Theodosius the Great, and the portion of Britain known as the "Saxon Shore" is supposed to have been so called because it was subjected to piratical attacks from the northern tribes beyond the mouths of the Rhine. This is asserted by Beda, and in the

Chronicle of Ethelward, but it is not improbable that settlements in South Britain from these parts had been very early effected. The Romans, however, in the decline of their power, found it needful especially to protect this part of their territory, and we have these fortresses as indications of the precautions taken.

The stations mentioned as under the guardianship of the Count of the Saxon Shore were: OTHONÆ, supposed to be Felixstowe, on the Suffolk coast, where are submerged ruins; DOVER, LYMNE, BRANCASTER (Branodunum), at the mouth of the Wash; BURGH CASTLE (Garianonum), on the Yare; RECVLVER, RICHBOROUGH, ANDERIDA (Pevensey); PORTUS ADURNI (Aldrington), on the River Adur. These all had garrisons, and the names of the troops by which they were held are given in the "Notitia."

It will be seen, therefore, that a line of fortified stations ran in a curve along the sea-coast from Branodunum (Brancaſter), on the Waſh, to a camp at Caistor, near Norwich, and round to the military station at Colcheſter. South of the eſtuary of the Thames we have the fortreſſes already mentioned on the Kentiſh coaſt and the coaſt of Suſſex, reaching as far as the Iſle of Wight and the Southampton river. Inland roads communicated with theſe ſtations on the coaſt.

The Peddar-way runs direct from Brancaſter to Colcheſter, and thence to London.

The Watling-ſtreet connects the four Kentiſh fortreſſes with the ſame city.

The Stone-street runs from Chichester to London, and so does the Roman road from Bitterne (Clausentum), on the Southampton Water, to Silchester, and thence, under the name of "the Devil's Causeway," passes to London also.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Advancement of Civilisation in Roman Britain. Villas. Mining Operations and Ceramic Arts. Construction of Roman Houses. Household Utensils. Survival of Language, Customs, and Laws.

NEXT to the cities, stations, landing-places, and defences of the coast, the marks of the internal development of the resources of Britain demand our attention, and the number of villas, remains of which have been found, especially in the southern and western counties, make it evident that during the Roman occupation the settlement and improvement of the interior of the island was not forgotten.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Bath, on the borders of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucestershire, and within a radius of five or six miles, thirteen or fourteen villas have been opened, and the pavements and other remains recorded.¹

They are numerous in the more western part of Somerset, and especially in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire; also remains of villas are found in Shropshire and South Wales, but many that have at different periods come to light have not been recorded

¹ See "Aque Solis," p. 112.

in the pages of the "Archæologia," or of the journals of other archæological societies.

They are generally found along the lines of Roman road, or not very far distant from them, and the site is generally admirably chosen for aspect, health, and comfort.

The plan of each varies considerably, except that they are generally built round a square court, or form two sides of a square, and have lines of out-buildings, the whole being contained within an enclosure, and are often placed on the slope of a hill, backed by a hanging wood, from which flows a plentiful spring or a running brook, and they overlook a long reach of meadow-land. They seem to have been erected for agricultural purposes, and for hunting recreation. Some are very large and cover a great extent of ground, as at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, which is one of the largest yet opened, and has been described by Mr. Lysons; another of equally large dimensions has been uncovered at Bignor, in Sussex. Accurate plans and measurements of these have been made, and the pattern of the tessellated floors copied, and the remains found within the area of the villa have been drawn and recorded.

The Woodchester villa contained two large courts, round which the living-rooms and sleeping-chambers were grouped. These open areas are generally surrounded by a "crypto-porticus," or ambulatory, supported on one side by pillars, and open to the court, after the manner of a mediæval cloister. The rooms are warmed by hypocausts under the living-apart-

ments, and they have a series of bath-chambers, heated in a similar manner.

One of the most perfect and complete in its arrangements is that at Lydney, on the western bank of the Severn, not far from Gloucester, near the Roman road thence to Chepstow, and on the skirts of the Forest of Dean, famous for its iron-mines worked by the Romans.

This villa, situated on the level summit of a hill, surrounded on all sides but one by deep valleys, and commanding a lovely view of the estuary of the Severn near its junction with the Wye, stands within a fortified enclosure, and consists of four distinct portions.

First, a large square court, round which has run a portico, and beyond this chambers of different sizes, many having beautiful patterns worked on the tessellated floors. There are not less than twenty-eight of these rooms grouped round the central court.

To the right of this building, which seems to have been the residence of the possessor, stand the remains of a temple of the usual form, having a fine tessellated floor in the centre, and there are also tessellated floors in two of the side chambers.

Beyond this, again, are a series of chambers belonging to a distinct building, which seem to have been occupied by servants or attendants on the temple and mansion. Further still to the north are the baths, placed on the edge of the declivity, with the heating-stove and hypocausts, and chambers belonging to the baths, where tessellated floors have also been found.

The whole arrangement gives an idea of opulence and comfort, as well as security.

A great variety of objects were discovered in the process of uncovering, and also dedications to the god "NODON," who seems to have been the tutelary divinity.

These are fully described in a work by Mr. C. W. King, M.A., being the completion of an account of the villa begun by its late owner, the Rev. W. Hiley Bathurst. Happily, all the remains, as well as the coins, have been preserved, classified, and arranged, so that much may be gathered from them as to the domestic habits of the Romans in Britain.

The coins discovered on the spot extend from Augustus to Arcadius and Honorius, and the inscriptions found consist of votive offerings at the temple.

The finest pavement yet found in Britain is that at WOODCHESTER, which was first discovered in 1695, and which has lately been drawn and described in the "Proceedings of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society."

The general design is a circular area 25 feet in diameter, in the centre of which is a figure of Orpheus, now nearly destroyed. This area is surrounded by a border, within which are representations of various beasts, originally twelve in number, on a white ground, with trees and flowers between them. The figures are a gryphon, a bear, a leopard, a stag, a tigress, a lion and lioness (now remaining). Those of a boar, a dog, an elephant, are destroyed, and two were obliterated when the pavement was

first discovered. The figures are about four feet in length. Within this circle is a smaller one, containing a variety of birds, and what seems to be the figure of a fox. These surround the figure of Orpheus playing on the lyre.

The four angular spaces between the border and the circular area have female figures, which, though now defaced or destroyed, appear to have been Naiades.

The tesserae composing the pavement are cubes of about half an inch, and the stones used in the pattern are white and blue lias, dark brown stone, and light brown and red-baked brick of a fine texture. These are obtained in the neighbourhood.

Another villa, situated on the Foss-road, and distant seven miles from Cirencester, on a slope of the Cotteswold Hills, at the foot of which flows the River Coln, was discovered as late as 1865.

It contains some good pavements, and has produced many articles of interest, and fragments of sculpture. There are also the remains of a temple, situated in the wood which rises above the villa. Among the articles found were two pigs of iron, which had been brought there for use, and were probably obtained from the iron-works in the neighbourhood of Ross, the ancient Ariconium, where traces of iron-workings are abundant.

Ariconium is mentioned in the thirteenth Iter of Antoninus, and is situated at Bury Hill, near Bollitree, three miles from Ross. Numbers of coins, fragments of pottery, fibulae, &c. have been found

scattered over an area of 100 acres, and in the neighbourhood immense masses of iron scorïæ, which show that it possessed smelting-furnaces. The floors of some of the forges are said to have been discovered. British as well as Roman coins have been found, and the latter include a period from Claudius to Mag-nentius, *i.e.*, from A.D. 41 to A.D. 353.

In the neighbourhood of Kinchester (Magna) villas have also been found, one at Bishopstone, another near Whitchurch, in the midst of the iron-mining district. These probably belonged to officers superintending the iron-works. Beds of scorïæ and cinders are found not only in Herefordshire, but in Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire, and hand blomerics, with ore imperfectly smelted,—the beds of cinders are in some places from twelve to twenty feet thick. Among these Roman coins and fragments of pottery are found. The hills called the Great and the Little Doward have been mined, and in the first is an aperture in the hill-side with galleries running from it into the hill in different directions, following the course of the iron vein; it is now called “King Arthur’s Hall.” It is probable that Ariconium was the capital of this district.¹

These discoveries give an idea of the Roman iron-works carried on in Britain, but their lead-workings were equally extensive, and also those of copper and tin. Of these tin seems to have been the earliest; in fact, the trade to Cornwall for tin dates to a

¹ See Wright’s “Wanderings of an Antiquary.”

period long before the coming of the Romans into Britain.

Pytheas is the oldest writer who treats of the north of Europe ; his diary was extant as late as the fifth century, but it now only remains in fragments quoted by later writers. He travelled from Marseilles round the Spanish coast as far as the south of Britain, and his travels opened the commerce in tin and amber to the Greek merchants of Marseilles about B.C. 450.

It is impossible to say how early the tin trade with Cornwall began, but it was monopolised by the Romans as soon as they subjugated the western portion of Britain. Pliny doubts the story of the *Cassiterides* yielding tin, but there seems little reason to doubt that he was misled on this point. Diodorus Siculus gives an account of the trade in the days of Augustus ; but this trade was interrupted, and did not revive until later times.¹

Both tin and lead were regarded by the ancients as abundant in Britain. Iron is mentioned by Cæsar as found in the maritime parts, but not abundantly. Tin ore was found near the surface, and smelted by the natives. "All the accounts of the ancient tin trade," says Professor Phillips, "represent the metal and not the ore as being carried away from the *Cassiterides*. Diodorus mentions the weight and cubical form of the tin in blocks carried from *Ictis* to Marseilles and Narbonne ; and Pliny says of the Gallican tin that it was melted on the spot. It is

¹ See Prof. Phillips's "Thoughts on Metallurgy," "*Archæological Journal*," vol. xvi., p. 7.

supposed that the "modern mining laws are a relic of Roman, and, perhaps, of earlier than Roman times."

Copper was also worked and smelted by the Romans in Britain. Two cakes of copper found in the Paris mines in Anglesea are preserved in the British Museum.

Both lead and copper are found in abundance in the county of Montgomery, and were worked by the Romans, who have left traces of their mining operations, and copper was worked in Shropshire. Llanymynech Hill, in that county, bordering on the mountain district of Denbighshire, was worked by the Roman miners, and their pits and smelting places remain. They not only obtained it near the surface, but penetrated into the mountain and followed the veins far into the interior.

"In the latter half of the last century," says Mr. Wright, "they were entered by miners in search of copper, who found a certain number of Roman coins, some mining implements, and culinary utensils." Roman mining implements have been found also in the lead-workings at Shelve and in the Mendip Hills; they consist of wooden shovels, picks of iron, and stone hammers; also candles have been found which had been left in the old workings.

Calamine was also worked in the Shropshire Hills by the Romans, and coal, of which evidence has been found in examining the remains of Uriconium. The coal, however, is of inferior quality, and seems to have been obtained near the surface.

On the line of the Northumberland wall, in

nearly all the stations, mineral fuel has been found, and in some a store of unconsumed coal. In several cases, says Dr. Bruce, the source whence the mineral was procured can be pointed out, and the workings are not merely superficial, but at Grindon Lake, near Sewing Shields, "the ancient workings stretched beneath the bed of the lake."¹

In Allendale and Alston Moor large masses of ancient scorix have been found, which are the refuse of smelting the lead obtained there. Iron was also obtained in the neighbourhood of Lanchester, co. Durham, and masses of iron slag have been found there and in other places in the north. The mode of constructing the blast-furnaces has also been ascertained.

Bronze vessels, as well as vessels of iron and earthenware, have been found on the sites of villas and in the stations. These are of a great variety of form, and extensive collections have been made in various museums.

The most perfect and beautiful earthenware vessels are those formed of the red lustrous ware called Samian. These do not seem to have been manufactured in Britain, but on the Continent, and imported.

Many pottery kilns have been discovered in various places, but the manufacture was of a coarser kind. Castor, near Peterborough, the ancient Durobrivæ, is best known for its manufacture of a ware which has

¹ See Bruce's "Roman Wall."

obtained the name of Durobrivian. This is inferior to Samian, which has its name from the Island of Samos, where the manufacture of this pottery became renowned as early as B.C. 900. The manufacture of the beautiful red or Samian ware was imported at length into Italy, Gaul, and Germany, but does not seem to have extended to Britain. Samian ware, found so plentifully in Britain, must, therefore, have been very extensively imported, as it is found in all the villas and stations, and sometimes vessels are found that have been broken and put together by means of rivets, showing how much it was valued.

Pottery kilns are found in the New Forest in Hampshire, in Somersetshire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, and Essex, but the manufacture is coarse. The maker's name is usually impressed at the bottom of the vessels, and runs in the form, MONTANS. F., *i.e.*, Montanus made it; or CRISPINI. M.—by the hand of Crispinus. Small figures or statuettes in baked clay or terra-cotta have been found at Colchester and in other places; also lamps and children's toys.

In the marshes at the mouth of the Medway, near the village of Upchurch, great quantities of Roman pottery have been found, showing that an extensive manufactory existed there. This pottery has a character of its own, and can be traced, not only over many parts of Britain, but also on the Continent. It appears to have been made of local clays.¹

Roman bricks and tiles were extensively manu-

¹ See "Catalogue of Specimens in the Museum of Practical Geology," by T. Reeks and F. W. Rudler. London: 1876.

factured, and have the mark of the legion or cohort upon them if used for military purposes, or that of the maker and the place if used for private purposes. Many have been found at Caerleon-in-Usk, in London, at Cirencester, and many other places.

Roman glass of every kind has been found both plain and embossed, which must have been manufactured in Britain, and the vessels discovered in tombs are of great variety; also ornaments and bracelets of jet are often found in interments of females, and there is a large assortment of these in the museum at York. The manufacture of these seems to have flourished in Roman times.

The remains of Roman villas which exist seem to show that the lower portion only was built of stone and the walls were made of timber, which abounded throughout Britain. The roofs were covered with shingles or stone tiles, which required strong timbers to bear their weight. The beams forming the main walls were placed upright and near together, the interstices being filled with clay mixed with chopped straw.

The walls that remain present a level appearance, unlike the broken walls of later buildings which have become ruined. The floors when uncovered are found beaten in as if by the fall of heavy timbers, and are strewn with stone tiles, many retaining the nails by which they were fastened to the timbers, and are cumbered with burnt wood, and the stones reddened by fire. The lead also is found to be melted, and everything seems to show that many have been

destroyed by fire. Some have perished by slow decay, but in most instances the sites seem to have been deserted after the buildings were ruined, and other sites to have been selected, by those who succeeded to the land. Many specimens of wall plaster are found which show that the inside was plastered with stucco, and the painting still remains.

Wood seems to have been the usual building material, except for public halls and baths, or for construction of forts and places of defence.

Household utensils are, of course, comparatively rare, though some have been discovered which have resisted the hand of time and violence, or the corroding influence of a moist atmosphere.

Many collections of these exist in various museums, and consist of bronze or bone pins and Stili, or instruments for writing upon waxed tablets, one end being pointed and the other flattened, so as to form a small blade for the purpose of erasing the writing, and smoothing the wax coating of the tablet.

Small bronze mirrors have been found, suited for a lady's toilet. Bronze spoons of a variety of forms, also bone spoons of a small size, and resembling modern egg-spoons. Many of the larger bronze spoons resemble the "apostle spoons" once given on the occasion of baptism, and common in mediæval times, and in modern days whenever the chrism or anointing oil has been used. The mediæval spoon, therefore, had its origin in the Roman, and has perpetuated its form.

Surgical instruments of bronze have also been

found, and the rods of balances, with equidistant spaces marked, by which the weight could be ascertained, as in the modern steel-yard; also a variety of balance weights representing figures and human hearts; tweezers, for eradicating the hair from the human body, a practice very common among the Romans.

Bone handles to knives are common, sometimes with the blade remaining, but these, being of iron, have often perished through oxidation. Bronze keys of all sizes, and a variety of forms, are found; some small, and attached to finger-rings; some large, but different in construction to our modern keys.

Many finger-rings, of various shapes and sizes, sometimes with the engraved stones remaining in them, have been discovered in every part of this island, and the devices are often very elegant. Many such have been found among the mining refuse in the Mendip Hills, or picked up near the stations occupied by the Romans.

Bronze *ex voto* offerings occur on the site of the temple of Nodon, at Lydney in Gloucestershire—an arm and a leg¹—similar to those found on the sites of ancient Roman temples on the Continent, as may be seen in museum at Dijon, which contains many similar offerings made to the goddess Sequana.

A great variety of bronze ornaments, apparently once attached to horse trappings, have been dug up, and thin plates of the same metal which have

¹ See "Roman Remains in Lydney Park," plate xxi., and p. 49.

ornamented a wooden surface, probably a chest or coffer.

Bronze letters were also discovered at Lydney, which had been cut out of a thin plate, and attached by rivets, or small nails, so as to form an inscription on the front of a building, or any dedicated offering. This is known to have been a common practice with Roman architects, as may be seen in the *Maison Carrée* at Nismes.

These letters found at Lydney, when put together, have been ascertained to form two words (the s being the only letter wanting,—

NODENTI SACRVM,

and have been fixed upon wood, probably a coffer placed in the temple of that divinity. Many other bronze letters have also been found at Lydney. A curious bronze plaque, which seems to have been intended as a personal ornament, was also found there; it is figured in Mr. King's book, and represents a crowned figure riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, and carrying a sceptre. It has been supposed to be a representation of the god NODON, and that the decoration formed the frontlet of a head-dress worn by the officiating priest, or placed on the head of the idol itself.

Votive tablets have also been found, dedicated to the same divinity, one of which has the inscription,—

D. M. NODONTI
FL. BLANDINVS
ARMATVRA
V. S. L. M.

This attests the reverence in which the local god was held, by the epithet *Deo Magno* applied to Nodon. There are also two others, one of which invokes the aid of the same deity for the recovery of a stolen ring, and punishment upon the perpetrator of the theft.

In the museum at York there are the bronze plates of a shield, which contain a variety of subjects engraved on them.

The articles of iron which have been preserved are fewer than those of bronze, on account of the oxidation of the metal, but, wherever a villa has been disinterred, many have been found, but in a state of decay. Horse-shoes, as well as bullock-shoes, of iron are not unfrequent. Prick-spurs, lamp-stands, clamps of iron, and chains for suspending caldrons, hoes, hatchets, adzes, axes, and the remains of military weapons, as spear-heads and sword-blades. Articles formed of lead are found among the refuse of the Mendip mines, as lamps, leaden weights with the marks upon them, sling-bullets (*glandes*), and articles for which lead was adapted.

Great varieties of fibulæ, or brooches, for fastening the upper garment or cloak, have been found wherever the Romans have inhabited ; collars, necklaces, and bracelets ; and the museum at York is particularly rich in jet ornaments.

The tessellated floors found on the site of all the villas indicate the perfection to which the art of inlaying had been carried in Britain. Cirencester is particularly rich in these remains, and the villa at

Foss Bridge already mentioned, presents some very interesting specimens. The floors found at Lydney are all engraved in Mr. King's work, but the most recent discoveries are those laid bare in the villa at Morton, near Brading, in the Isle of Wight, which present a variety of subjects. A list of forty figured mosaics is given in a recent number of the "Journal of the Archæological Association,"¹ but many more might be enumerated.

The subjects of these are very various, but the figure of Orpheus, surrounded by animals which he is charming with his lyre (as on the large pavement at Woodchester), is the most favourite.

Bacchus is also a favourite; and the cantharus, or two-handled cup; and the vine with its tendrils. The four seasons are often represented; also Nereus, the Naiads, Nereids, Tritons, dolphins, salmon, or other fish. Neptune also figures, and the Gorgons' head; Cupid, who is also depicted riding on a dolphin, and various mythological and legendary subjects which it would be too long to enumerate.

In the museum at Taunton is a portion of a pavement found in Somersetshire, representing two hunters bringing home a slaughtered deer suspended between them on a pole. A variety of animals and birds are found depicted, and one of the pavements lately uncovered at Morton contains the representation of a monkey, and the pavement at Whately, near Frome, has the figure of an elephant. The peacock

¹ See vol. xxxviii., part 3, p. 306.

was also a favourite, and appears in pavements at Wellow, near Bath, at Morton, and in London and elsewhere.

Gladiators and chariot-races, dogs and dancing figures, all enliven the pavements, which are placed on suspended floors, and these rest upon hypocausts, or heating-chambers underneath, supported on short columns, and warmed by flues constructed outside the buildings.

The coloured stones of which the pavements are formed are generally found to be composed of the materials near at hand—white and blue lias, red brick, white chalk, and black clays, baked hard. Different shades are given by the introduction of stones of a variety of shades, as cream colour, grey, yellow, and chocolate.¹

Hexagonal roofing-tiles occur in great abundance, and hollow tiles used for conveying the hot air along the walls of the heated chambers; and these are found also wedge-shaped, and have been used in vaultings and in the formation of arches. Numbers of these wedge-shaped tiles have lately been discovered at Bath in disinterring the ancient Roman thermæ, the passage or corridor round the principal bath having been arched with them.

Querns or hand-mills are abundant on the sites of Roman villas and in the neighbourhood of stations, by means of which the corn was ground into flour just before it was used.

¹ See "Remains of Roman Art at Corinium," p. 48.

From this enumeration we are enabled to judge, in some degree, of the amount of Roman civilisation and refinement, and it is plain that in this distant portion of the Roman empire the same arts and refinements practised in the imperial city had been introduced into Britain.

A few fragments of statuary only remain. These have been found in some of the villas, as at Chedworth, Lydney, Woodchester, and others, but enough remain to show that villas and temples were ornamented with a taste similar to that common on the Continent. It can hardly be wondered that after the lapse of so many ages, and the vicissitudes through which this country has passed, so few remains of sculptured figures should be found ; but an entire statue of Mars, worked in sandstone, was lately disinterred at York.

The most enduring record of Roman times, and the change wrought by Roman conquest throughout the civilised world, is the adoption of the Roman letters of the alphabet, which have been used ever since.

Barbarian conquest or civil discord may have destroyed Roman monuments and effaced their refinements, but could not destroy the art of recording and transmitting knowledge to future ages. Roman inscriptions torn from their buildings have, in many places, survived the wreck of time, but their language took a much firmer hold, and their letters are found on monuments of later date than the Roman dominion, and still continue in use.

The monumental stones of the sixth, seventh, and

eighth centuries which have been collected, show the use of the Roman alphabet continued, while they also show the barbarous method of writing where Roman influence had not extended¹ or had become extinct.

These inscriptions may be taken as an evidence of the continuance of the Latin language in Britain after the departure of the Romans, but the Latin words embodied into the native languages of Britain, and adopted by subsequent conquerors, bear also strong testimony to the continuance of Roman influence.

If we trace the Latin words which occur in Saxon charters, we have very clear evidence of the survival of the Latin language after the departure of the Roman forces. Many of these have been enumerated by Mr. Coote :—

Adfinis, adfinie (agrimensorial term).

Campus, camp.

Castrum survives in Ceas-ter or Chester.

Fossa in foss.

Fons in fonte or funte.

Molinum in mill.

Mortarium in mortar.

Portus and *Porta* in port.

Puteus in pit.

Strata in stræt or street.

Turris in torr.

Vallum in weall or wall.

¹ See "Inscrip. Brit. Christianæ," by Emil. Hübner. 1876.

Vicus in *wic*.

Villa, unchanged in form.

These, and a multitude of other Latin words which occur in Saxon charters,¹ show that they were in common use when the charters were drawn up, and are adopted into the Saxon.

"The Latin words," says Mr. Coote, "are such, and refer to such matters, that they cannot be assigned to any supposed later introduction into England by the Roman clergy. These Latin words are in themselves an epitome of what imperial Rome had done for Britain. By them we trace that Rome had built her cities here; had imported her far-reaching taxation, and had introduced conveniences before unknown; that the *agrimensura* and colonisation had come with her; that scientific culture of the land had followed; that the arts which ameliorate and adorn human life, and those usages which are the result of civilisation, had been her gifts."

The same is observable in the language of every country conquered by Rome.

In Gaul, in Spain, in Germany, the Roman names of towns, cities, and places which still survive under an altered form, are a further proof of Roman manners and influence long surviving there as well as in Britain.

London, and *Lincoln*, and *Gloster* are noteworthy examples of places retaining, like many others, the Latinised forms of still earlier names.

¹ See Coote's "Romans in Britain," p. 36 and following.

The Saxon name for Bath, "Acmanchester," seems still to retain a corruption of the earlier form, *Aquæ solis*, the Roman name.

Cirencester, Colchester, Chester, attest by their terminations Roman occupation, even if no remains of ancient importance should have survived to tell of their antiquity.

It is a well-known fact, that throughout the history of Rome colonisation invariably succeeded conquest. Wherever the Roman has conquered, there he inhabits, are the words of Seneca,—there is "scarcely a land which the natives have to themselves," the Roman is everywhere engrafted upon them. No one can doubt that colonies were planted in Britain, and that fact entailed a great change in the habits and manners of the people; and the customs and laws of these colonies can be shown to have survived the departure of the Roman forces.

¹ See Coote's "Romans in Britain," p. 139 and following.

CHAPTER XIX.

Roman Coinage in Britain. Colonisation of the Country.
Measurement of the Land. Reclamation of Wastes,
Forests, and Marshes.

SOME account having been given of the ancient British coinage previous to the landing of Julius Cæsar, it is necessary now to examine what coinage was current after the Romans gained possession of the island. Mention has already been made of Camulodunum and Londinium as cities to which the privilege of a mint had been granted, and that coins are found bearing the mint-mark C. or CL. and LN. or LON., also many coins where the mint-mark does not appear can be shown to have been struck in Britain.

The mint at Camulodunum appears to have been established by Carausius, and was suppressed after the death of Allectus. That at London was also established by Carausius and suppressed about the time of the dedication of Constantinople.

The coins of Carausius and Allectus begin about A.D. 287 and continue to A.D. 296.

Copper coins of Dioclesian (from A.D. 296 to 305).	
Maximian, Augustus,	} Having the Legend GENIO POPVLI ROMANI on the Reverse.
Constantius, Cæsar,	
Galerius Cæsar.	

Though mint-marks are wanting, they may be considered as belonging to Britain.¹

Also coins of

Diocletian and Maximian, after abdication (A.D. 305—306). Also

Severus Aug.-Constantine Cæsar.

Galerius Aug.-Maximin Cæsar.

Constantine Aug. (A.D. 307—312).

Many of them are copper coins, with the mint-mark PLN. and a star in the field (A.D. 312—317) or about that date.

Copper coins with MLL. MSL. MLN. or PLN, and F.SF. SP. TF. a crescent, or a crescent and star in the field, from A.D. 317 to about 321, and the series extend to A.D. 337.

The London mint is supposed to have been suppressed at the general reorganisation of the Empire which took place after the seat of government was transferred to Constantinople.

It was afterwards revived by Magnus Maximus, A.D. 383, when he rebelled in Britain. A mint was indispensable to a Roman emperor for the payment of his troops, and the London mint appears to have been suppressed after his death, as no London coins of his successors are found. A silver coin of Magnus Maximus struck in London has the legend VICTORIA AVGG. and the mint mark AVGPS.²

¹ See a paper on "Roman Coins Struck in Great Britain," in the "Archæological Journal," vol. xxiv., p. 149, by J. F. W. de Salis.

² See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxiv., p. 160.

Prior to the date of Carausius the money circulated in Britain was coined in Italy or Gaul.

Instances of forged or counterfeit coinage have been discovered, and moulds for casting counterfeit coin have been found in Shropshire.

Hoirs of coins have been found in many places, and a remarkable discovery was made not many years since at Procolitia, in the line of the Roman wall in Northumberland, where the well in the centre of a temple dedicated to the goddess Coventina was found to contain many thousand coins, as if the military chest had on some occasion of alarm been thrown into the well for security.

These hoards of coins have been generally found near Roman camps or stations.

Near Montacute in Somerset, on Ham Hill, where are the remains of a Roman camp within the larger circuit of a still older British, an urn was found in 1882 filled with coins, and another filled with medals. The whole find is above a hundred-weight, and such a large collection can only have been stored away and kept for the payment of the troops stationed there. The camp is on the line of the Foss-road.

COLONISATION OF BRITAIN.

That Roman colonies were planted in Britain is clear, not only from Roman history, as in the case of Camulodunum, but from lapidary records. We have also Colonia Glevum, Colonia Lindum, and this implies that lands were assigned to the colonists, and a "territorium" existed around the colony, which

was marked out, after the Roman manner, by distinct measurements. The method of those measurements is well known, and that they were regulated by the "Lex Colonica."

Traces of these measurements are still found, and are abundant in Britain in the "Botontini," or mounds of earth containing ashes and broken shards, burned stakes, or small chambers of rough masonry, and sometimes slight erections in the form of a cross. These marked the boundaries of estates ; but lesser possessions, or assignment of lands, are marked by centurial stones, which note the lands assigned to individuals, and are to be distinguished from the centurial stones which marked the amount of work done on the lines of the walls of Northumberland and in Scotland by the different cohorts.

Mounds of earth have been opened on the lines of Roman road, which have disclosed no interments, like the barrows so common on the Wilts downs and on the uncultivated tracts, but have been found to contain "indicia," such as are described by Roman writers who treat of the measurement and assignment of land. Much information respecting these will be found in Mr. Coote's "Romans in Britain," who gives instances of places where they have been discovered.

Their presence marks the complete possession of the country, and the settlement of property during the Roman domination.

"In proofs of centuriation," or assignments of land, "England and Wales are richer than any country in Europe, and of these proofs some are actually extant,

while others have been rescued from oblivion by description and record. In one or other of these two ways there are examples of every mode by which centuriation signified itself." When the Romans first landed in Kent, the country, though thickly populated, and having villages, or congregation of huts or poor edifices, was uncleared, and little cultivated except in the valleys. The account of Cæsar relates to Kent only, and the southern portion of the island; but, from what can be gathered from other sources, the interior of the island, except near the coast of Devon and Cornwall, was quite unreclaimed land, and the rivers towards their mouths spread out into large estuaries, and the swamps extended far inland. This may be seen by examining both the eastern and western sides of the island, the outlets of the Thames and the Severn, the Dee, and the Humber, as well as the northern rivers.

The woods were partially cleared by the Romans in making the military roads, and the marshes were drained, and, wherever a colony was settled or a garrison fixed, there the work of clearing and improving the country went forward. Large embankments were gradually formed, as we find in Lincolnshire, in Kent, and towards the outlets of the Severn, and much valuable land was thus reclaimed.

The area of cultivation went on continually increasing, and we can judge from the remains of Roman villas how readily every healthy and advantageous spot for cultivation was fixed upon. This is particularly to be noted in Gloucestershire and

Somersetshire, and, although we may regard the statements of orators and panegyricists as overdrawn, yet there is evidence to show that the southern, western, and the midland portions of Britain had reached a high state of cultivation and refinement before the departure of the Romans.

Great tracts of forest, however, remained uncleared. The Forest of Dean, though extensively worked for iron, and having considerable towns bordering on its outskirts, and roads penetrating into its recesses, yet seems to have continued a deep impenetrable wood until very recent times. The same may be said of the Forest of Arden, the Forest of Sherwood, the "Anderida Silva," and the forests of Wales ; but we find all these penetrated by Roman roads, and wherever the road was formed and stations planted there the clearing and cultivation must have proceeded. We have mention of the wild animals which peopled these forests, and we find records of their chase and destruction, as in altars dedicated to Silvanus.¹ A remarkable one found in Weardale testifies to the destruction of a huge boar that had long defied the efforts of the hunters. Other indications of success in the chase are found recorded in inscriptions discovered along the line of the Northumbrian wall.

The fishing coracles and light twig-made vessels used in Britain for navigating the rivers and creeks, were gradually superseded under Roman rule by boats and barges, and remains of these are found

¹ For altars dedicated to Silvanus, see "C. I. L.," vol. vii., No. 959, p. 166 ; No. 304, p. 75.

imbedded in sand and mud at the mouths of large rivers, and sometimes far inland, as on the banks of the Friths of Forth and Clyde ; also the remains of landing-places, and what seem to have been old docks and stations for shipbuilding.

The beaver, the bear, and the wolf, as well as the wild ox and the stag, afforded sport and spoil for the Romans. The Scotch bear is mentioned by Martial. Wolves remained in Britain to the time of Edward I., and wild cattle still roam in the park at Chillingham, in Northumberland. The beaver abounded in Britain, and was hunted in Wales, on the banks of the Teivi, in Cardiganshire, as late as the First Crusade.¹

When grants of land or estates were conferred upon colonists, they seem to have been regularly laid out, and the roads and limits marked. Examples of centuriation and limitation perpetually recur, and there was a body of men called "Agrimensores" whose duty it was to conduct the measurements and assign the limits. We find not only the military marching roads, with milestones marking the distances, but roads connecting different "territoria," and byways or lanes connecting villas or farms, and serving the purposes of agriculture. The old Roman roads and boundaries are mentioned in Saxon charters, and the Roman roads exist to the present times. Names of Roman families of position are to be traced upon the centurial stones which have been found.

The colonisation of Britain appears to have been

¹ See Dawkin's "Cave Hunting," p. 76.

completed before the accession of Caracalla (A.D. 211). It began in the time of the Emperor Claudius (c. 50). We know that, when the rebellion broke out under Queen Boadicea, she destroyed two Roman cities, and the confiscation of the land occasioned this outbreak. "Territoria" had been allotted to the Roman colonists at Camulodunum, and it was this which led to the rising of the nation.

When this was put down, the allotment of the land continued. In the year A.D. 250 there were fifty-nine "civitates" in Britain, and the foundation of these shows that the work of allotment must have proceeded steadily and a Roman population become settled. When Camulodunum and Verulamium were destroyed, soon after their foundation, seventy thousand Roman citizens and "socii," or allies, were slaughtered, and this manifests how rapidly colonisation proceeded. The colonists were Roman citizens and Latin and Italian allies, who sought to found families in a newly-conquered province. Rome sent forth her colonies into every province that came under her rule, and these brought with them all the arts and habits of civilisation for which Italy was renowned. This Romanised population seems to have had its influence on the island not only in Roman times, but even after it had come under Saxon rule, and notwithstanding the sufferings endured after the strength of the legions was withdrawn. Roman influence and institutions, as well as customs and laws, can be traced to the time of the coming of the Norman and even later.

CHAPTER XX.

Mythology of Roman Britain. Worship of Streams. Burial Guilds and their Customs. Defixiones or Anathemata.

BESIDES the altars dedicated to the gods of Rome, which we should naturally expect to find erected by the legionary soldiers, we find a multitude of others to divinities unknown to the Roman Pantheon—local gods, or gods and goddesses worshipped by the soldiers who formed the legionary cohorts.

We find often the names of several divinities grouped together on one altar, as Jupiter, Mars, and Nemetona, on an altar found in Bath, and the "Numina Augustorum," or divinity of the Emperors, is not unfrequently added in a consecration to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or other principal deity. A local divinity is coupled with one of the old recognised gods or goddesses. Thus, at Bath, the ancient *Aquæ Solis*, altars are dedicated to the goddess Sul and Sul-Minerva, Sul being a goddess unknown elsewhere, who seems to have presided over the hot springs. Nodon, or Nodens, was a god worshipped on the other side of the Severn, where he had a temple at Lydney dedicated to his honour.¹ There are several

¹ See "Transactions of Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society," vol. vi., p. 1.

altars dedicated to the *Deæ Matres*, or the *Matronæ*, the goddess mothers, worshipped in Germany, where similar altars have also been found. These are sometimes three and sometimes five in number.

Altars have been found dedicated to *Jupiter Dolichenus*, the Jove of metallurgy, indicating the discovery of iron ore, so much prized by the Romans. There are dedications to *Mars Lucetius*, to *Mars Belacatudrus*, and to *Nemetona*, a Gaulish war goddess identified with *Nemon*, one of the battle-furies of Gaul. Mr. Elton observes, that "when the Britons became civilised they built temples and set up statues of their gods, but when we first hear of them their religion seems to have been free from this kind of display. Gildas speaks of the grim-faced idols which stood in his day on the mouldering city-walls, and it is not long since the statues of gods might be seen built up into the masonry of the walls at Bath."

Divine honours were paid to fountains, wells, and streams. Coins have been found at stream-heads, and votive offerings were common in Gaul, as may be seen in the museum at Dijon, where are preserved those found at the source of the Seine; and similar offerings seem to have been made in Britain. Customs of offerings at streams continued far into Christian times, as well as other heathen observances, many of which are perpetuated under a Christian form.

Three altars with Greek inscriptions have been found in Britain; one at Chester, dedicated to "the gods the preservers," by *Hermogenes*, a physician, and two others, in the stations along the Northum-

brian wall. Inscriptions to physicians have been found, one at Binchester (Vinovium), near Bishop Auckland, and in other places, and this shows that the Roman armies were supplied with medical officers attached to the legions and cohorts.

“Collegia,” or associations for burial purposes, were established in Roman Britain, as appears from funereal inscriptions,—one found in Bath, erected by a “Collegium Fabrorum” to one of this fraternity.

The celebrated inscription found at Chichester, recording a temple to Neptune and Minerva, dedicated by the authority of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, who seems to have been styled “Rex” as well as imperial legate in Britain, and held his supremacy under Roman dominion, was erected by the “Collegium Fabrorum” and those connected with it. This inscription is not merely interesting as recording the work of a guild of artificers, but as confirming a passage of Tacitus, who says that foreign kings were made by the Romans instruments for bringing their people under Roman authority, and into subjection to their laws.

Every art, trade, and profession had its college. There were also “collegia” formed to promote the worship peculiar of some divinity, which was combined with funereal purposes.

The constitution of the college was divided into “decaniæ” and “centuriæ,” bodies of ten or a hundred men, and presided over by a president; it had also a treasurer, and was a corporation which could hold property. It had a common worship and

sacrifices, and sometimes its priest, a temple, its “lares” and “genii,” and a “curia,” or meeting-house for gatherings and feasts, and also its “insignia,” and celebrated its birthday. They met at the sepulchres of their departed brethren to commemorate their loss, and to deck their tombs with offerings acceptable to the Manes.¹ These “collegia,” begun in the time of the Emperor Claudius, continued not only during the Roman occupation of the island, but were perpetuated afterwards when the island became Christian, and have been continued with certain modifications in Christian times. They are the precursors of the mediæval guilds and the modern benefit societies.

“Defixiones” or “devotiones,” tablets recording lost articles supposed to have been stolen, and consigning the supposed thief to the vengeance of the offended deity, have been found at Lydney, and a metal tablet has lately been discovered at Bath in clearing out the ancient reservoir of the Roman baths, which seems to bear a similar character, but the reading is somewhat uncertain.

Such tablets, Greek and Roman, are common on the Continent, and many have been published, and the custom was handed down to very recent times, as may be seen by a tablet recorded to have been found in Yorkshire.²

Although Roman manners, laws, and customs have left an indelible mark on Britain, and have

¹ See Coote’s “Romans in Britain,” p. 383.

² See Whitaker’s “History of Richmondshire,” p. 195.

implanted on its soil and among its people characteristics which have never been obliterated, there was even a mightier influence at work than Roman arts and arms, which, in the providence of God, was brought to bear upon the nation, and that was the diffusion of Christianity in Roman times, and the planting of the Church, which must be considered in the following chapter.

Dr. Döllinger observes that, in spite of the perfection to which the Druid system had arrived amongst them, the Britons were very low in the scale of civilisation at the time of the Roman conquest. Their towns were nothing but woods surrounded by a mound of earth and a ditch. They tattooed themselves, and wore skins of wild beasts ; and had also, if Cæsar be not deceived in this respect, a community of wives amongst relations, and in the interior they lived on flesh and milk, without tilling the ground.

In rudeness and barbarity, but also in frankness and fair dealing, they surpassed the Gauls, with whom, as with descendants of the same stock, they had most points of character in common.

So soon, however, as the Roman authority was securely established amongst them, the British Celts, like their neighbours of Gaul, took kindly to the Roman customs and language. It was specially the wise policy and mild administration of Agricola which achieved this ; and according to the expression of his son-in-law, Tacitus, brought it to pass, that what in their ignorance they termed civilisation was in reality

one of the conditions of their servitude. At the same time, the separation of the unsubdued North Britain, with its tribes of Caledonians and Picts, also of Celtic race, from the Romanised Britons, was continued for many centuries.

Under the Roman domination twenty-eight cities gradually grew up in the island. Of these two were "municipia," Eburacum (York) and Verulam (St. Alban's); and nine were colonies.

London, which is first noticed as a place of commerce, after being destroyed in the insurrection under Boadicea, revived again, and in the time of Antoninus Pius was a city of importance, and in the later period of the Roman occupation became the site of a mint.

CHAPTER XXI.

Rise and Spread of Christianity in Roman Britain.

THE preceding chapters have treated of the rise and extension of the Roman power in Britain, the civil administration, and the extension of commerce, arts, and manufactures. There was, however, another influence at work of a different kind, which, penetrating into the island in Roman times, infused a totally different feeling, and tended to ameliorate the hand of oppression, while it turned to account the advantages of improved civilisation. This was the promulgation of the Christian faith, which undoubtedly first took place in Roman times, and seems to have had its beginning with the conquest of Claudius.

The oldest British historian who treats of the introduction of Christianity into this island is Gildas, surnamed the Wise. He was born about the year A.D. 520. His parentage appears to have been noble, and his education good for the age in which he lived, while his knowledge of the Scriptures and the ecclesiastical writers of the time was considerable; but he was a man of sour mind, and his description of the corrupt manners and habits of his countrymen seems to be overdrawn. He wrote two works, one called the "History," and the other the "Epistle of Gildas," and in his "History" he sets forth the difficulty of obtain-

ing materials for his work, on account of the ruined state of the country after the withdrawal of the Roman forces. After speaking of the troubles of the island in Roman times, and the conquest of the south of Britain in the days of the Emperor Claudius, and noticing the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, and the terrible slaughter that accompanied it, he goes on to say:—"In the mean time, Christ, the true Sun, afforded his rays, *i.e.*, his precepts, to this island, benumbed with icy coldness, and lying far distant from the visible Sun: I do not mean from the sun of the temporal firmament, but from the Sun of the highest arch of Heaven, existing before all time, which manifested its brightness to the whole world during the latter part of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar." From this statement we may infer that Christianity was taught in Britain in the first century of the Christian era, but *how* or by whom we are left in ignorance. At this time a large Roman military force was quartered in the island, which has been estimated at not less than 48,000 soldiers and auxiliaries, and constant communication was kept up with the Continent. Four legions came over with Aulus Plautius,¹ and this army remained in Britain for thirty-three years, and afterwards the Roman power was maintained in Britain by two legions with their auxiliaries. When Suetonius Paulinus conquered Mona, or Anglesea, the seat of the Druidic superstition, in the year A.D. 59, this achievement struck a heavy blow at the

¹ A.D. 43.

native superstitions. After this arose the revolt of Boadicea, and the dreadful slaughter both of Romans and Britons, succeeded by an interval of seven years' comparative tranquillity. Yet, except the words of Gildas, we have no record of the teaching of Christianity as early as this date, nor has any lapidary or other inscription been found which might lead us to infer it.

Lapidary remains are sadly deficient in the south and west of England. In early Christian and subsequent times they have been treated as superstitious relics, and been ruthlessly destroyed, and those of an early date which yet remain are almost entirely heathen. No very decisive Christian remains have been found at Caerleon or at Bath. Numismatic records have been found at Cirencester,¹ for instance, a brass coin of Decentius, brother of Magnentius, A.D. 350-353, on the reverse* of which is the sacred monogram between the letters A and Ω; also at Chedworth Roman villa, near to the latter place, undoubted Roman Christian symbols have been discovered, but apparently of a later Roman date,² and in a Roman pavement at Frampton, Dorset.³ Also the Christian

¹ See Buckman and Newmarch, "Illustrations of Roman Art in Cirencester," p. 152. 1850.

² Two sacred monograms were discovered upon stone steps in the villa, on the under side. There is an error in Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," p. 40, which states that two tiles were found with the monogram in 1864. The monogram is upon the stone steps, but some tiles in the museum at Cirencester, found near Chedworth, have the letters I.H.S.

³ Lyson's "Reliquiæ Brit. Rom.," plate vii.

monogram has been found at Corbridge, on the Northumberland Wall.

It has been supposed by some, and even asserted, that Britain was the scene of apostolic labours, and that St. Paul was enabled to include it in his missionary journeys.

This idea is based upon the words of St. Clement, who was contemporary with St. Paul, and the expression, Ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς εὐσεως ἐλθόν, "Coming to the extremest limit of the West," seems to imply that no portion of the then known world,—comprehended under the Roman dominion,—was left unvisited by the Apostle. It is perfectly possible that after his first imprisonment at Rome, in the time of Nero, and before his martyrdom,—after taking his contemplated journey into Spain,—he may have passed into Britain.

The second year of Nero is assigned by Eusebius and Jerome as the date of St. Paul's *first* imprisonment. In that case his release would be in the fifth year of Nero, and he was not put to death until the persecution began in the *eleventh* year of Nero. This continued four years, and the two writers I have named state that he was put to death in the *fourteenth* year of Nero.

"This computation," says Prof. Chevalier, "would leave a space of about eight years for the labours of St. Paul after his first imprisonment at Rome, an opportunity which he doubtless employed with his characteristic energy and activity." It was during these years that, according to St. Clement,

St. Paul visited "the furthest extremity of the West."

The inspired narrative of the Acts of the Apostles is only intended to point out to us what the Holy Spirit of God enabled *some* of the Apostles to do, and how our Lord's promise to them was fulfilled. We have by no means a complete record of *all* that was done and suffered. Neither does authentic Church history supply *all* that the inspired record leaves untouched. This is, at the best, fragmentary, and much probably remains to be discovered; but the fact of Churches existing throughout the whole Roman empire, professing *one* form of faith, and under *one* system of Church government, is a proof of the wonderful success of apostolic labours in the first century. I do not place implicit confidence in the historical accuracy of the Welsh Triads; but (as Mr Thackeray observes¹) "a strong tradition has been preserved in Wales relative to the father of Caractacus, who was detained, according to the Triads, seven years as a hostage at Rome, and became a Christian, and afterwards, upon his return to Britain, is said to have converted many of his countrymen."

Tacitus, who mentions the wife, daughter, and brother of Caractacus, makes no mention of his father, who is supposed to have been Cunobelinus, and died anterior to the Roman invasion; but it is not improbable that, among the captives who accompanied Caractacus to Rome, some even of his own

¹ See "Researches," vol. i.

family may have embraced the Christian religion and afterwards become the instruments of diffusing it among their countrymen. Nor is it impossible (as the same writer observes) "that the great Apostle of the Gentiles, during his first imprisonment at Rome, should have become acquainted with some of these captives, and that through their representations he might have been induced, when liberated from his confinement, to undertake a voyage to Britain."

So far, then, as to the early conversion of this island, or rather the preaching of Christianity in it, we cannot be far wrong in believing that the testimony of Gildas is *true*; that, while most severely tried by war and national suffering, it pleased Him, who ever tempers His justice with mercy, to cause a truer and holier light to dawn upon the land.

The next point for consideration is the *extent* and *duration* of the Christian Church in Roman Britain. We look, therefore, naturally to the *early councils* of the Church to see if Britain was represented there, and if her representatives exerted any influence, and we ought not to pass over the testimony given by Tertullian to the existence of a Church in Britain as early as A.D. 208.

"Et Britannorum *inaccessa Romanis loca*, Christo vero subdita."¹

Christianity had penetrated, therefore, in Britain into parts of the island not at that time subjected to the Roman rule, and this testimony is confirmed

¹ Tertull., "Adv. Judæos," c. 7; see also Origen in Ezekiel, Hom. 4, and in Matth. Comments.

by Origen about twenty years later, yet on the same authority we find that parts of the island were still untouched.

“Plurimi nondum audiverunt Evangelii verbum.”

From the time of Constantius Chlorus to the year 300 it becomes superfluous to dwell upon testimony to so indisputable a fact as that of the existence of a British Church. What, then, do we gather from Gildas as to the *form* and *constitution* of the Church? “The Church is spread over the nation, organised, endowed, having sacred edifices and altars, the three orders of the ministry, monastic institutions, embracing the people of all ranks and classes. It had spread, moreover, into Ireland and Scotland. It was also a learned Church; it had its own version of the Bible and its own ritual.” The words of St. Chrysostom (who died A.D. 407) are: “Even the Britannic Isles lying without this sea, and situated in the ocean itself, have felt the power of the Word, for even there churches and altars have been erected.”¹

Both Gildas and Beda tell us that after the persecution of Diocletian had died away, the British Christians *rebuilt their churches* which had been destroyed, and both these writers mention the martyrs and the places where they suffered.²

Verulamium, the site of which can now be accurately traced, furnished the martyr Albanus, and

¹ St. Chrysostom, “De Incomprehen. Dei Nat.,” lib. ii., and “Contra Judæos.”

² Gildas, “Hist. Brit.”; Beda, “Hist. Ecc.,” lib. i., c. 8; and Thackeray’s “Researches,” vol. i., p. 249.

in honour of him the Abbey of St. Alban's (now a cathedral) was afterwards erected. The circumstances of his martyrdom are detailed by Beda. A beautiful shrine, the fragments of which have lately been recovered and restored, marked the resting-place of his bones in after-times. The names of two martyrs who suffered at Caerleon-on-Usk were Julius and Aaron. Geraldus Cambrensis says that in that city each had a church dedicated to his memory. After Alban and Amphibalus they were esteemed the chief proto-martyrs of Britannia Major.

"When the storm of persecution had ceased," says Beda, "the faithful Christians, who, during the time of danger had hidden themselves in woods, and deserts, and secret caves, appearing again in public, rebuilt the churches which had been levelled with the ground; founded, erected, and finished the temples of the holy martyrs, and, as it were, displayed their conquering ensigns in all places, celebrated festivals, and performed their sacred rites with clean hearts."¹ This would be after the year A.D. 305, when the Emperor Diocletian abdicated, and his example was afterwards followed by his colleague, Maximian. Up to this period we have no right to expect any remains of Romano-British churches. Such cannot, I apprehend, be traced on the Continent, and even in Italy, except the house and church of St. Clement at Rome, the latter of which has been from time to time rebuilt.

The remains of Roman villas are common through-

¹ See "Hist. Eccles.," lib. i., c. 8.

out the south and west of Britain, and these remains extend into Yorkshire, but they appear in many cases to have been ruined and afterwards rebuilt, and nearly all seem to have been destroyed by fire. It is often asked why remains of Christian churches have not also been found if ever they existed. The explanation of this appears not very difficult. How is it that, coming to later times, so few *Saxon churches* remain? Yet we know that in Saxon times the face of this country was covered with them, even as it is with their successors at present, but to those in search of Saxon ecclesiastical lapidary records how very meagre is the result! The cause is simple enough. Let any one examine the sites of large Roman buildings now laid open, as at Silchester, Wroxeter, or St. Albans, and he will see how very slight were the foundations, and how soon displaced. Wrought stone for building purposes has always been accounted very valuable, especially when it can be easily procured.

The site of a church, a spot once consecrated to divine worship, generally remains fixed. If the building is enlarged, or rebuilt, it is in the *same* place. The old foundations are cleared or levelled, but the new stand upon the old. The site of a holy spot is perpetuated. There has always been the greatest reluctance to shift the site, and our churches at present, in most cases, stand on the *exact* spots where they stood in the earliest times. They have been rebuilt age after age, but seldom shifted; others have been added, as cities extended, or as new parishes and districts were formed, but what is called the "*Mother*

Church" generally occupies the spot where the ground was first set apart for divine worship. As the spot has generally been venerated, so on the other hand has the material always been considered as available only for reconstruction. The materials have been torn up and worked over again, and all that can now be traced are broken bricks and fragments of stone worked after the Roman manner, embodied in the more recent structure.

As soon as the sword of persecution from without had been sheathed, and tranquillity been permitted to the Church, there arose from within trials of a different kind: false opinions were propagated and stubbornly maintained, and then internal dissensions arose, and general or local councils were convened for the purpose of settling doctrinal and other disputes. The first of these was the Council of Arles, at which three British bishops were present, the names of whom are preserved in the catalogue handed down, and printed in the volumes of the "*Concilia*." The date of the Council of Arles, convened by Constantine the Great, was A.D. 314. The emperor's circular letter to the bishops is extant. (*See Baronius.*)

The Donatists were the instigators of this schism, which originated in Africa, and was headed by Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ. They objected to the election of Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, and also put forth some serious doctrinal errors, as, for instance, that the efficacy of the sacrament depended entirely upon the character of the minister, and that personal sins invalidated sacred functions. The

Donatists brought this controversy before Constantine the Great, who, in order to settle the question, caused a council of twenty bishops to be assembled at Rome ; but their decision, which was against the Donatists, not being accepted by them, the emperor caused a provincial synod or council of the Western Church to be assembled at Arles. Of this increased number of bishops and clergy who assembled, the greater portion were from Gaul. Britain, at this time, consisted of *three* provinces, and three bishops, with a presbyter and deacon, represented the British Church. This gives us the idea of a perfectly organised body, having their representative members, qualified to take part in the weighty matters brought before them. The decision come to was against the Donatists, and on this occasion twenty-two short canons were framed, the first of which related to the *time* of the celebration of the Easter Festival, which was now fixed at one and the same time throughout Christendom. Another of the canons enacts that no bishop should singly consecrate another, but that *seven*, or at least *three*, bishops should join in the rite of consecration. We see, therefore, from this, the 20th canon, how very anxiously the primitive Church guarded the episcopal succession, and this seems to have been derived from apostolic times. These particulars are mentioned because the canons enacted at this council would at once be carried into Britain, and become the law of the Church.

We are left in uncertainty whether Roman Britain was represented at the famous Nicene Council A.D. 325.

Ancient ecclesiastical writers are not agreed upon the exact number of bishops present, but there seem to have been about 318 bishops, besides presbyters and deacons, so that the whole number amounted probably to 600. We can hardly believe that, if Britain was represented at the Council of Arles, it was not also represented at Nicæa, especially as Constantine the Great, by whom it was convened, had been so closely connected with Britain. Unhappily the "Synodicon" of Athanasius, in which the names of those who subscribed the canons of Nicæa were mentioned, has been lost.

The Council of Ariminum, and probably Sardica also, was attended by representatives from Britain, and the classis Britannica, which protected the coast from the inroads of the Franks and Saxons, gave every opportunity to the British bishops to avail themselves of the imperial invitation.

It is clear that the British Church assented to the decrees of the Council of Nice respecting Arianism and Easter, for we have the testimony of Athanasius¹ and of the Emperor Constantine himself² to this effect; and at this period the faith of the British Church appears to have been sound and Catholic. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that Britain was unrepresented at Nicæa—a council the effects of which were felt throughout the Christian world, and which

¹ Athanasius ad Jovian. Imp., A.D. 363; Constantinus, "Epist. ad Ecclesias apud Euseb.," V.C.

² See "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," by Arthur West Haddan, B.D., and William Stubbs, M.A., vol. i.

have remained to prove so great a blessing to the Church at the present time. An eloquent scholar has happily contrasted the condition of the Roman Empire under Constantine with that of the Republic of Rome at the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, B.C. 63, when the Senate met together to determine what should be the fate of the conspirators. At that time J. Cæsar was Supreme Pontiff, and he expressed his belief that death would to them terminate all suffering, and intimated his disbelief in a state of future rewards and punishments. This bold infidel opinion put forth by the Pontifex Maximus, the chief minister of pagan religion, excited scarcely a passing notice in the Senate of Rome; it was allowed to pass unchallenged, and considered hardly worthy of notice. "No gods were insulted, no mortal injured, no divine retribution anticipated,—all were absorbed in things temporal, and had no thought of higher things, except as mere matters of speculation! But 400 years afterwards,—325 years after the birth of Christ, and after His founding the Christian Church,—how changed is the scene, how different the state of public feeling! The place of meeting is no longer a (heathen) temple, but a town-hall or a palace; the government there enthroned is no longer a commonwealth, but an imperial autocracy; the men assembled in their robes of dignity are no longer senators, but bishops,—not fathers of patrician households and rulers of provinces, but fathers of the Church, elders of a spiritual congregation . . . interpreting a rule of faith and practice, holding fast an already ancient ecclesiastical

tradition. The ideas of the time are changed, the faith and usages of the people have undergone a marvellous transformation. The matter in debate in the assembly is not a matter of political emergency, but of the deepest spiritual significance: the Council of Nice is met together to fix the *creed* of *Christendom* on a point of religious dogma, and to settle the faith of men on an everlasting foundation. The chief who summons this council of Christian bishops is the highest guardian of the national ritual, the head of the Church upon earth; but he comes not to prescribe his own views on points of religious faith, but to *collect the suffrages* of its recognised expounders, the depositories of three centuries of interpretation and tradition, the chief pastors of the Christian congregations scattered over the face of the empire and even beyond it."

Eusebius Pamphilus, in his "Life of Constantine" (iii. 7) states that there were present: "the most eminent amongst God's ministers of all those churches which filled *all Europe*, Libya, and Asia; and one sacred oratory, enlarged as it were by God Himself, enclosed within its walls both Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, Palestinians and Egyptians also, Thebæans and Libyans, and those that came from Mesopotamia." There were also present at this Synod a Persian bishop, also a Scythian; there were Thracians and Macedonians, Achaïans and Epirotes, and such as dwelt far beyond these met, nevertheless, together. Whenever a perfect catalogue of this assembly is recovered, as may be the case,

we shall probably find our own island was not unrepresented.

It is sad to think what records of the doings of past ages have perished, and what fragments alone of great acts and councils remain. Nevertheless, we have in the Nicene Creed an enduring proof of what had been accomplished in 300 years from the birth of Christ. It has sometimes been urged that Christianity has done but little for the amelioration of the human race, and that the effect upon the nations has been but slight. It needs but a partial study of antiquity to show how *great* has been the change effected; and a comparison of these two periods which I have mentioned well illustrates the subject.¹

Passing now from the Council of Nice to that of Sardica, A.D. 347. The list of bishops at this council differs as given by different historians and writers; the larger total amounts to 300, or even 400, which probably includes those not present, but who sent in their adhesion with the decisions; but British bishops are not mentioned. One Restitutus is mentioned by St. Athanasius, but his see is not given, yet we know that Restitutus was bishop of London, A.D. 314. The name, however, is not uncommon, and I think we may give to Britain the benefit of the doubt.

Let us carry our investigations now to the year 359, and we find that British bishops were present at

¹ See Merivale's "Conversion of the Roman Empire"; "The Boyle Lectures for 1864," lecture i.

the Council of Ariminum. This was in the time of Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great.¹

The emperor had commanded that those who assembled on the occasion should be maintained at the imperial cost. This, however, was declined, except by three British bishops, who, on account of the poverty of their sees, accepted the assistance. From this we learn that more British bishops were present at Ariminum than at Arles, but we are unable to specify how many. No doubt the three who accepted the imperial bounty were from remote and poor dioceses; but the more wealthy, as London, York, Caerleon, Chester, Colchester, or Lincoln, would be supported out of their own resources.

Mr. Haddan and Mr. Stubbs, in their collection of authorities on matters connected with the British Church, have given a summary of the authorities which show that between the year A.D. 386 and A.D. 400 there was a settled Church in Britain, with edifices, altars, scriptures, discipline, holding the Catholic faith, and having intercourse with Rome and Palestine.

We come now to the birth of St. Patrick, the apostle of the Irish Church, who was born A.D. 395, near Dunbarton in Scotland, anciently called Alclwyd. He wrote his "Confessions" some time before his death, which is fixed by Archbishop Usher A.D. 493, but by others earlier.²

We have general references to the British Church and to the Christians in Britain, and also to the

¹ See Sulpitius Severus, "Hist. Sac.," II, 41.

² See Thackeray's "Researches," vol. ii., p. 169.

intercourse between the Gallic and the British Churches, and this carries us down to A.D. 461. We also have proof of pilgrimages by British Christians to the Holy Land, and to Syria. It was in the year A.D. 401 that Ninius, bishop of Candida Casa, or Withern, in Valentia (Galloway), the most northern and last-formed Roman province in Britain, converted the southern Picts dwelling between the Grampian Hills and the river Forth.¹

We see, therefore, that at this time the British Church was *missionary*, it manifested symptoms of that life without which a Church must be said to be moribund.

Roman conquest had extended from the sea-coast at Dover and the county of Kent, where Cæsar first landed, to the shores of the Firth of Forth and the Clyde. Between these two estuaries the "Vallum Antoninum" was drawn, and the Roman Empire in Britain extended over five provinces. The last province added to the Roman rule was Valentia, and comprehended the country between the vallum of Antoninus and the vallum of Hadrian. This province was the last subjugated and the first abandoned.

The vallum and murus of Hadrian remain to this day, a wonderful monument of Roman power, but out of the many inscriptions found in its neighbourhood, which have been recorded and preserved, we have but very faint traces of Romano-British Christianity.

The first portion of Britain subjugated was the

¹ See Beda, "Hist. Eccl.," iii., 4.

county of Kent and then Hertfordshire; and, by degrees, the Roman conquest extended from the estuary of the Thames to that of the Severn, and extended over Cornwall, forming what was termed the province of *Britannia Prima*. Over every portion of this we find Roman roads and the remains of elegant villas, as well as Roman camps, maritime fortresses, and stations along the lines of road.¹ The next

¹ Remains of Romano-British Christianity are supposed to be seen in the bricks built into St. Martin's Church, Canterbury. We have Beda's assurance that here there was a church in Roman times, of which the present church possesses some remnants (see book i., ch. xxvi.). Beda also mentions St. Saviour's, now the cathedral (book i., ch. xxxiii.). Also over the grave of St. Alban, at Verulam, a church had been built (Beda, "Hist. Eccl.," i., 7).

There is some reason for believing that a church of Romano-British construction existed at Dover, adjoining the pharos, which is undoubtedly Roman. Remains of Roman brick are found plentifully in the walls of the present church, which has been built partly with the ruins of an earlier one. In Messrs. Stubbs and Haddan's recent work, the fortified camp at Richborough is mentioned as having traces of an ancient church—a cruciform structure still remains as foundation; but this foundation, from its enormous solidity and the depth to which the earth has been dug out to receive the concrete of which it is formed, seems rather to indicate that it was intended for the foundation of a war tower or a pharos.

At Glastonbury the Saxons are related to have found an older church erected in Roman times. This rests upon the testimony of William of Malmesbury. The West-Saxons conquered the district between A.D. 652 and A.D. 658, being already Christianised, and the monastery appears not to have been destroyed. Roman remains are said to exist in the church of Reculver and at Lyminge, as well as at Brixworth.

province was Wales, called *Britannia Secunda*, and was garrisoned at its northern point by the fortified town of *Deva*, now called *Chester*, and at its southern extremity by *Caerleon* and *Caerwent*, at all which stations we find evidences of the Roman legions. Roman roads penetrated every portion of Wales, and plenty of camps are to be found, but few villas, and but scanty remains of Roman Christianity. A sepulchral stone found at *Caerleon*, where a palm-branch appears to have been roughly scored, and another at *Bath*, now lost, are slender evidences of Roman Christianity; but a sepulchral stone lately found at *Sea Mills*, near *Bristol*, has on it the characteristics of an early Christian tombstone, and so those best versed in Christian antiquities have thought it, but it is not universally admitted to be so.

The middle portion of Britain constituted the province of *Flavia Cæsariensis*, and lay betwixt Wales and the German Ocean. This is intersected by Roman roads in every direction, and towns and villages, nearly all of which have modern representatives. *Ureconium*, or *Wroxeter*, a very small part of which has been excavated,—for the ancient circuit of it was three miles—has as yet yielded no direct testimony to British Christianity. But who can tell what may still lie hidden under the ample area yet unexplored?

The remaining portion, *Maxima Cæsariensis*, extended from the *Humber* on the east, and *Dee* on the west, to the vallum of *Hadrian* on the north, and included the important city of *Eburacum* or *York*,

which was at one time an imperial residence. Here many remains have been found, and a local museum formed in recent times, but as yet no distinct Christian memorials have been observed.

I have mentioned but a few of the Roman towns. In the principal of these bishops seem to have had their sees. We cannot, however, be sure that the Romano-British Church had metropolitans, or archbishops over each province. There were bishops at York, London, Caerleon-on-Usk, and not improbably at Lincoln and Verulamium, though of these we have no distinct mention. Rataë, or Leicester, may also have been a bishop's see—it was made one in Saxon times by Ethelred as early as A.D. 680, and this may have succeeded a still older one. Corinium, or Cirencester, from its importance and position, will stand in the same category.

Nennius has given a list of the ancient episcopal sees, which may not be too many, if we remember that 200 years later, notwithstanding the unsettled state of Britain, harassed and impoverished by the Saxon conquest, seven bishops in one corner of the island remained subject to their metropolitan at Caerleon. "Poor as many parts of Britain may have been during the first four centuries of the Christian era, there can be no doubt that the wealth, population, and prosperity of the country, when it made part of the Roman empire, were infinitely greater than when it became subject to the Saxons, so that if Gregory (the missionary from Rome to that people) thought that England could support twenty-six

bishops in the seventh century, we are warranted in supposing that it must have maintained as many or more bishops in the previous times of comparative plenty.”¹

If more care had been taken to preserve and to collect ancient records, and if the minds of men had been alive some years ago to their value, we should have been in a better position to demonstrate what now can only rest upon conjecture ; but much more than is generally supposed may yet be gleaned. The monumental stones which still survive in Wales and Cornwall, and which are now being collected and recorded, the care taken in their preservation where they exist, the classification and arrangement of inscriptions which is now taking place, is a healthy sign that indifference to the value of such records is passing away. Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs² have collected and arranged the sepulchral Christian inscriptions of Celtic Britain, which range from A.D. 450 to A.D. 700. These are numerous, but they relate to a period not included in the history of Roman Britain, at the same time they show the *influence* exerted by Romano-British Christianity, and direct our thoughts to what England had learned from the Roman Britain of a preceding age.

¹ See Thackeray, vol. ii., p. 93 ; also Bingham's "Antiq.," book ix., c. vi., p. 20.

² App. F., p. 162.

CHAPTER XXII.

Conclusion.

WE have now traced the growth of the Roman Dominion in Britain from the first landing of Julius Cæsar, B.C. 55, to the extinction of the Roman power, about A.D. 446, which includes a period of 500 years.

The actual conquest of Britain did not, however, begin until nearly one hundred years after the first landing of Cæsar, and, as we have seen, the conquest of the island was gradual, and not accomplished without long successive struggles, extending over nearly another century. The actual possession of Britain did not, therefore, embrace a period of more than three centuries, and this was by no means a peaceable possession, especially in the northern districts, where fierce, and in some instances doubtful, contests were carried on to the last, and the Caledonii, with the northern part of Scotland, were never completely subjugated.

In treating of the conquest of Britain, while much has been said of Roman ambition and avarice, little has been said of the development and improvement of the resources of the island while under Roman rule.

We have examined the condition of the island previous to the landing of Cæsar, and learn that it was divided into innumerable petty states, constantly at war one with another, and the inhabitants were low in the arts of civilisation, though warlike in their habits. Their commerce was very limited, and their working of metals and use of manufactured articles confined to their own narrow boundaries, without much intercourse with strangers, except upon the coast of Cornwall and on the Kentish coast. Their country was cumbered with forests, and their rivers followed their natural course, without any attempt to restrain them from overflowing the surrounding lands. Their cities, in the midst of woods, were fortified enclosures of cleared ground.

When the Romans left the island they had formed a system of roads throughout its whole extent, even over its inaccessible mountains, and penetrated through its forests, drained the marshes, formed canals, embanked the rivers, and reclaimed tracts of waste lands. They had constructed bridges,¹ and made fords, and the cultivation of the land had been greatly increased by the growth of corn, so that Britain had become an exporting country. If we may judge from the remains of Roman villas among the Cotteswold Hills, and along their valleys, the growth of wool must have been extensively cultivated, and a considerable revenue derived from it;

¹ See a paper recently read to the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne, July, 1882, by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell, M.A., Rector of Byers Green.

and in Somersetshire the wealth of the Mendip Hills was so completely developed, that little has been left for the enterprise of modern times.

Remains of Roman workings for iron ore in the Forest of Dean, and the vast heaps of scoriæ that have been found in Herefordshire, plainly show to what an extent the mineral resources of that county were developed; and wherever the Roman arms penetrated there we find the remains of towns and cities, and the traces of an active and industrious population.

We can have but little doubt that the commercial cities they planted, and the towns they called into existence, continued to exert their influence over parts of the island to a very recent date. War and Anglo-Saxon conquest could never wholly efface the effect of Roman civilisation. The wars of the Heptarchy probably did more damage to the commerce and cultivation of the island than the actual English conquest. The inroads of the Picts and Scots, though terrible to the districts through which they passed, must have left large portions of the island wholly untouched; and the Roman colonists, after 300 years' possession, must have largely influenced the native habits and native population.

That the colonists and others connected with the Roman occupation did intermarry with the natives, has been shown by inscribed stones,¹ as well as by

¹ See monument discovered at South Shields, 1878, in "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. vi., part 2, p. 436.

historical mention. Mr. Coote has shown how much of Roman language, laws, manners, and customs continued to exist in Britain in ages after their departure, and this can only be referred to Roman culture; above all, the religious element which Christianity infused into Britain in Roman times, became a powerful means of preserving society and ameliorating the horrors of war. Mr. Coote observes that "we have the fact of high civilisation in Britain, from the circumstance that the wealth of the country—an inseparable attendant upon civilisation—attracted the attention of the Anglo-Saxons. The temptation to invade and occupy this portion of the empire was the same as that which actuated the invasion and occupation of the other portions of the empire,—viz., its wealth. But this wealth, like that of its creator, civilisation, could only have been Roman, and, as the Romans continued to exist in Britain after the Anglo-Saxon conquests, their civilisation would continue also."

There is no reason for supposing that Britain suffered more from hostile invasion than Gaul and other portions of the Roman empire, which were over-run by barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples in the decline of the Roman empire, and no reason to believe that the Romano-British population was wholly extirpated. Roman blood mingled with the population, and Roman blood has flowed ever since in English veins, and we believe ever and anon given proof of its refining influence. We are not, however, concerned with the condition of this island after the

Roman occupation ceased, but rather with the condition in which they left it, and the benefit which the island derived from that occupation ; and we cannot but think that, severe and trying as its condition was for centuries after the Roman dominion ceased, yet that the effect of that domination never entirely passed away, and that we at this present day are still indebted to its influence.

This land of Britain, which has a wondrous history, and holds so high a place among the nations of the earth, shows in every part traces of the fourth Great Empire,—the Iron,—which was to precede the coming of a better and kindlier dominion,—the Little Stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which grew great and filled the earth. We have distinct traces in every part of this island how that great Iron Empire sought to fix itself firmly and to mingle with the seed of men, but did not prevail. It failed because it was based upon an unsound principle, that of force and conquest, rather than of justice and truth ; but we have seen also how it prepared the way for a better kingdom, which has taken root and filled the land, and has substituted truth and justice, tempered with mercy, for despotic military rule. May that Divine mercy which has watched over our land for good, and brought this once insignificant island to be the centre of a great empire, watch over it and keep it for ever, “esto perpetua!”

APPENDIX I.



ROMAN INFLUENCES EXISTING IN BRITAIN AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMAN ARMIES.

ALTHOUGH the condition of Britain, after the collapse of the Roman power and the abandonment of the island by that power, does not properly belong to a history of Roman Britain, yet the condition of the island as subject to Roman influence, and retaining the forms of government impressed upon it by Rome, may properly demand a brief notice. The Saxon or English invasion never destroyed either the Romano-British population or entirely uprooted what the Roman had planted.

The fourth century saw the Roman *coloni* spread over Britain just as much as over other conquered countries of the Empire ; all the ancient remains that still exist seem to indicate this fact. The Roman *territorium* seems not unfrequently to have followed the boundaries of the preceding tribe. The irregular lines of the tribe-land were perpetuated in the outline of the territory, and are still observable in our *shires*, and this seems to show that the Roman proprietor and the British *colonus* lived amicably upon British soil. The administrative forms of Roman law seem also to have survived the imperial power in Britain, and the same forms of military rule remained. The introduction of the Roman as a settler implied also the introduction of the whole body of Roman law, public and private. The law administered by the *presides* or presidents in Britain was the same code which was appealed to at Rome, in Italy, and in all the provinces of the Roman empire. Its rules and principles were as well understood at York or Caerleon as at Boulogne or at

Paris, or in the capital of the empire. "Juridici" and "legati juri dicundo" are mentioned in four inscriptions ;¹ these officials were called *præsides*, or presidents.

There is evidence to show that the law administered in Britain was the same as the system that prevailed throughout the entire Roman empire ; and this continued to be the case after the imperial power had ceased in Britain, and before the conquest of Kent had been achieved by the Saxons—a period of about a century and a half. During this period Britain was quite independent, and governed herself unaided by Rome.

About A.D. 407, Constantinus was elected emperor by the Roman army in Britain ; after his election he removed the Roman troops from Britain, and, having completed a successful campaign in Gaul, sent an expedition into Spain under his son Constans ; he then entered upon the campaign himself. Britain was thus left without a protecting force.

These events are detailed by Zosimus, and confirmed by Prosper, who says :—"Hac tempestate præ valetudine Romanorum vires funditus attenuatæ Britannię," or "in consequence of the weakness of the Romans the strength of Britain was fundamentally weakened."¹ The inhabitants were, however, left to avail themselves of their own courage and resources, and this was the case.

The account of Zosimus confirms this statement. He says, "that Constantine, being away in Gaul, occupied with the barbarians there, and the greater part of his army in Spain, the barbarians living beyond the Rhine, carrying all things before them in their incursions, compelled the inhabitants of Britain and some of the nations in Gaul to separate from the government of the Romans and live independently. The inhabitants accordingly, taking up arms and fighting in their own behalf, freed the cities from the barbarians, and the Armoricans and other provinces of the Gauls, *imitating the Britons*, freed them-

¹ See "Annali dell' Instituto," vol. xxiv. (ix. N.S.), p. 24 ; also Coote's "Romans of Brit.," p. 133.

² See "Monumenta Historica Britann.," vol. i.

selves in like manner, and, expelling the *præsides* of the Romans, set up a government according to their own discretion."¹

From this account we understand that the circumstances of the time compelled the Britons to violate the *Lex Julia Majestatis*,² which forbade the carrying of arms or defensive or offensive weapons. This law had disarmed the whole Roman world, and no war could be waged except by imperial authority. But that authority was now in abeyance, and it is intimated that by forces voluntarily raised the cities freed themselves from barbarian invaders, as there were now no imperial forces to resist them.

The leaders of the Romano-Britons were thus compelled to form a government of their own, denuded of imperial forms. They had not expelled the Roman presidents; they were left to themselves by the Roman power, and obliged to take measures of their own. This remedy was provisional only.

In the year A.D. 410 the Emperor Honorius relaxed the *Lex Julia*, and in an edict directed the Britons to protect themselves.³

This was intended to encourage the Romano-Britons. It sanctioned what they had done, and directed them to persevere in political self-defence and self-government. This form of government was the rule of the whole country by its *civitates* or cities. The rescript is not addressed to the *præsides* of the provinces, but to the *cities themselves*.⁴

When St. Germanus came over to Britain for the second time (A.D. 447 or 448) he met no longer with the "præses," but with the *Comes civitatis*, and calls him "Regionis Primus"; and when the Anglo-Saxons came into Britain they found the *Comes Civitatis* in every territory, and when they became masters of the country they transferred this dignity to one of their own countrymen. This seems to be the simplest explana-

¹ Zosimus, vi.

² "Dig.," 48, b. 1.

³ See Zosimus, vi., 10.

⁴ See "*Leges Nov. Theod. A.*," lib. i., c. 38; also Coote, "*Rom. of Brit.*," p. 139.

tion of the origin of the "Earldorman," who now became head of each "territorium," while the territorium itself became the "Scyr," which we now call the *shire* or *county*.

The same also occurred in Gaul, where, at the breaking down of the Roman imperial power, the Merovingian counts became the successors of the imperial counts,¹ exercising the same authority over their respective territories.

Under the Roman imperial government the *præses* had always been assisted in the administration of justice by a body of assessors, and was himself responsible to the imperial power for all his acts, but this became altered when the Saxon Earldorman succeeded to the dignity.

"During all the period that Britain was self-governed," observes Mr. Coote, "she still belonged as if by right to the Roman empire; she had been, indeed, left by that empire to do the best for herself, but in all this there was neither refusal of allegiance nor abandonment of dominion." We know from the biography of St. Germanus, by Constantius, that in the time of that saint (*circa* A.D. 450) there were no kings in Britain.

In his two visits to this country he met with none, and no money is found bearing the image of any Romano-British prince or British city. What money has been found apparently of this epoch is a very poor mintage, made in imitation of well-known imperial types.

Again, the imperial power of Rome made no abandonment of her claim on Britain as one of her provinces, or relinquished her rights over the island; for as late as the year A.D. 537 Belisarius, the Roman general, made an actual grant of Britain to the Goths, in the name of the emperor, after he had defeated them before Rome.²

The Saxons from an early period had never ceased to attack the coast of Britain. As early as the date A.D. 364 Ammianus

¹ See "Hist. Invasion. Germ.," by M. de Coulange.

² See Procopius, "De Bello Vandalico," lib. ii.

Marcellinus mentions their depredations "*Picti, Saxones, et Scotti, et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis.*" Thus, while the Saxons assailed the coast by sea on the south and east, the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti forced themselves into the interior and ravaged the more northern and western provinces. To repel such assailants unsupported by Rome was no easy task. The Saxon was a sea-robber, not an invader of inland territory or an assailant of inland cities. He had formed an alliance with the Picts, but was as ready after a time to form an alliance with the Romano-Briton, if he found it more to his advantage and if it brought him better pay,—and so he did. The date of his entering into a Romano-British alliance, and accepting an invitation to aid against the Picts and Scots, is fixed by Bede and by the Saxon Chronicle about A.D. 459, and it is stated that, having aided the Britons and driven back the invaders, he found a pretext of quarrel against those he had come to aid, and, feeling his own strength, by degrees conquered the south and west of the island. But these conquests were gradual, and not achieved without a prolonged struggle. The first event is fixed as above, but Kent and Sussex were not conquered before the close of the fifth century, and Mercia is stated to have been made an Anglian kingdom not before A.D. 586.

East Anglia and Essex were conquered not before A.D. 527, or, according to William of Malmsbury, A.D. 587.

Bernicia was conquered by the Angles A.D. 547, and Deira A.D. 559.

We have, therefore, a struggle lasting over a period of a century; this shows that the Romano-Briton, though subjected at last, had not yielded without a prolonged and severe struggle, and when he did submit his condition does not seem to have been more desperate than that of other conquered people.

The severity of the struggle has not been hitherto sufficiently apprehended, and it has been supposed that the Romano-Britons, when deserted by the imperial power of Rome, fell an easy prey to Teutonic invaders. But what say the records that remain, and which have been compiled from previous existing history?

We have carried the date of conquest as far as the middle of

the sixth century, more than a century after the withdrawal of the imperial armies.

The Saxon Chronicle states that in A.D. 556 Cynric and Ceawlin fought with the Britons at Banbury in Oxfordshire. In A.D. 571 Cutha fights with the Britons at Bedford, and takes four towns—Lenbury and Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, and Bensington and Ensham in Oxfordshire.

Six years afterwards we find the Saxons penetrating no further than into Gloucestershire, when, in A.D. 577, Cuthwin and Ceawlin fight with the Britons at Dereham in Gloucestershire, and take three cities—Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. These three Romano-British towns, therefore, maintained their independency about 150 years after the withdrawal of the Roman forces, and were not reduced until after a severe struggle. This does not look like a tame submission on the part of the Romano-Briton! Some years after (A.D. 584) the Saxons had penetrated up the valley of the Severn to the borders of Cheshire, and we read that “Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Britons at Fethenleag, where Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless spoil, and angrily returned to his own.” It is supposed that at this time Uriconium fell after a severe struggle,¹ and the excavations that have been made at Wroxeter, on the site of this ancient Roman city, seem to prove that it was taken by assault and burned.

The poem of Llewarch Hen, supposed to commemorate this event, tells of a fierce and prolonged contest.

But the effect of these conquests was not permanent, for we find that A.D. 592 there was a great battle at Wansborough in Wiltshire, when Ceawlin was defeated and “driven out,” though the Saxon Chronicle does not mention where,—but here his conquests terminated.

In A.D. 597 Coelwulf has to maintain a hard fight against Romanised Britons as well as Picts and Scots.

And thus the country was incessantly harassed by war, which accounts for the ruined condition in which all the remains of

¹ See Dr. Guest's paper in the “Archæological Journal.”

ancient Roman villas are found, and their apparent sudden destruction by fire, rather than by gradual decay, but does not imply that the population of the country were actually exterminated or driven out of their possessions.

As late as A.D. 571, only part of Oxfordshire was taken, but the Romano-British population was not conquered, for 60 years later a battle was fought in Oxfordshire between them and the West Saxons, in which 2,000 of the Britons were slain; but, as it has been observed, this does not by any means imply the destruction of the entire nationality; there is proof that the Romano-British population continued to exist, not only as serfs but as landed proprietors.

Mr. Coote has shown that Roman *cognomina* survived, and were not unfrequent in Saxon times, and were held by persons in the position of landowners as late as the years A.D. 710 or 715.¹ Such names are mentioned by Beda. Roman names remain slightly altered by a change at the end, as

Artorius	becomes	Artor.
Bassus	„	Basse.
Clarus	„	Clare.
Patricius	„	Patrice.

“Some of the Gens Artoria passed safely through the storms of their native land, and were still country squires, even in the time of Edward the Confessor, in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.” A line of Juvenal authenticates the first name as Roman,—

“Vivant Artorius istic et Catulus.”

The name has come down to our time in legends which associate it with successful assertions of Romano-British freedom against Saxon conquest; also the name of Aurelius Ambrosius; though little is known for certainty respecting his history or exploits.

This subject will be found fully treated in the authority above referred to; it is enough here only to allude to it in proof of Roman influence continuing to exist for ages after Roman Britain had become English.

¹ See Coote's "Rom. of Brit.," p. 187 and following.

It is in the language, the laws, and the customs which survive, that we must look for enduring traces of Roman influence, rather than in buildings or architectural remains. These have perished to their foundations, but what remains still exist evince the refinement and cultivation of the Romano-Briton—his industry and power of developing the resources of the country ; these, however, are insignificant compared with what survives in the institutions of civilised life and the cultivation of literature and art, and in the Roman alphabet bequeathed to Britain.

Little seems to have been done under English rule to increase the prosperity of the island, or to stimulate commerce and secure public safety, or to cultivate refinement and art ; we owe this to another source. The power of Christianity was not dormant, and Churches were everywhere planted, and the heathen brought under Christian teaching largely by Italian or Gallic missionaries ; but the few structural churches that have survived to our own time seem to show that art had sadly declined, and that no buildings had been reared to be compared with what had adorned the country under the Roman rule. It was not until the Norman conquest that we find noble churches erected, and grand feudal fortresses, and the arts and manners of civilised life take the place of rude and semi-barbarous habits. Whatever of art, refinement, or commercial enterprise, lingered in the cities of Britain previous to the Norman conquest, was probably due in a great degree to Roman influences remaining, or was imported from the Continent by the clergy through their intercourse with France and Italy.

We may trace the effect of Roman influence not in the laws and customs only which survived the English conquest, or in the allotment of the land, a subject well worked out by Mr. Coote in his work often referred to, but in methods of agriculture and gardening introduced by them. The remains of villas in the most beautiful and sheltered places of the island manifest the discernment of the Roman conquerors, who, when they subjugated the Briton, taught him how to cultivate and to improve the lands over which he had once simply pastured his flock or hunted the

wild animals. To the Romans we owe the villa, and with it the village life, as every villa comprised all the necessary equipments of the farm and the accommodation of the labourers.

Agriculture was a primary object with the Roman colonists. The traces that remain around deserted Roman settlements make this evident, and we probably owe the introduction of the cottage garden, the cultivation of the vine, the cherry-tree and many other fruit trees, to the efforts of the Roman and his love of country life.

Italy has been called the nursery ground of western Europe, and traces of this influence are very manifest throughout Britain.

The fertility and richness of the Roman province had invited the rapacity of the Saxon, but we have no proof that he brought with him any of those arts and refinements, or any of those manifold improvements in domestic and social life, which marked the period of Roman occupation, and which have never ceased to influence the condition of the island.

APPENDIX II.

RECENT CONTINENTAL DISCOVERIES TENDING TO THROW
LIGHT UPON THE CHANGES EFFECTED IN ROMAN BRITAIN,
AND THE WAY THEY WERE BROUGHT ABOUT—NECESSITY
OF PRESERVING ANCIENT REMAINS.

VERY interesting discoveries of Roman remains have lately been made in the west of France, where the remains of a city have been found about eighteen miles from Poitiers, at Sanxay.

The Père de la Croix, an earnest antiquary, who has been occupied for some time past in endeavouring to discover the

places where the ancient meetings of the tribes of Gaul were held, had been led to suppose that Sanxay was one of them, where the tribe of Pictones met, for the purposes of consultation, and for the selection of representatives at the general council of Gallic states which, according to Cæsar, was held in the country of the Carnutes.

The researches which he caused to be made on the spot led to the discovery of an entire Romano-Gallic city, the foundations of which were entombed beneath the earth, but the name of which had been lost with all traces of its history. The town of Sanxay, about a mile distant, situated on the small river Vonne, now represents the ancient Romano-Gallic town. This is partly surrounded by the same small river, and seems to have stood in the middle of a forest district. The city was unfortified, neither walls nor gates have been found; but it covered a large extent of ground, and at present about twenty-two acres have been examined. The buildings as yet uncovered consist of the remains of a temple dedicated to Apollo, built in the form of a Greek cross, with buildings contiguous to it, and the whole surrounded by an ambulatory. The portico of the temple consists of three rows of fluted columns looking towards the east, twenty-two in each row, with highly-ornamented capitals.

Adjoining this temple is a large system of bath-chambers, with hypocausts and flues, and all the accompaniments usual to Roman bathing establishments, and these appear to have been enlarged at different periods. The lower portions and the underground passages remain quite perfect, but the marble floorings and wall-pannelings have been destroyed.

Contiguous to the system of baths was a very large "hostellerie," covering about seven acres in extent, arranged for the accommodation of visitors to the temple and the bathing establishment.

These buildings are within the city, the site of which occupied a gentle rise on the southern side of the river. On the opposite, or northern side, is the theatre, which has been dug out sufficiently to ascertain its form and arrangement. The rows of seats are formed in the slope of the hill which rises gradually

from the river-level, and these would accommodate about 7,000 persons, which gives some idea of the population of the city. The stage, at the foot of the slope, is elliptical in form, with a room at the back of it for the actors, and seems to have been used for exhibitions of horsemanship, as well as for scenic performances.

The aspect of the seats looks directly upon the city, which has covered an area of two or three miles in circuit. The date of these remains is considered to be about the end of the first or beginning of the second century, and to have been destroyed about the commencement of the sixth. The marks of fire are very distinct, and two kilns have been discovered adjoining the buildings, by which the work of demolition has been carried out in succeeding ages. The coins and medals discovered serve to fix the period of the duration of the city to about 500 years.

This interesting discovery, so recently made, throws considerable light upon remains of cities found in Britain.

First, as to their origin, that they succeeded earlier settlements which were the central points of tribes where religious and political gatherings took place.

The Romans did not rudely violate any religious or national feeling except where it was directly opposed to their supremacy; they rather strove to conciliate it and turn it to account, and either reconciled the national divinity with one of their own, or caused it gradually to be superseded. At Sanxay, "Apollo" seems to have superseded the Gallic divinity Hesus. At Bath, "Sul" was combined with Minerva, and the British and Roman goddess were worshipped under the appellation of Sul-Minerva.

As the tribes that came over to Britain preserved their ancient names and manners, so did they, no doubt, perpetuate their ancient religious customs; and this would lead to the supposition that inland towns, like Silchester, Wroxeter, Winchester, Kinchester, and Bath mark the places of meeting of the respective tribes inhabiting the district. It is sometimes difficult to account for cities being placed where their remains are found,

but on this supposition we find a reasonable solution of the difficulty.

Secondly, the recent discoveries at Sanxay serve to show what may yet be brought to light in Britain as well as in France, if more careful and systematic excavations could be made on spots known to have been occupied in Roman times; only a small portion of some of the larger cities have been explored.

The only theatre yet found in Britain is at St. Alban's, but there must have been theatres as well as amphitheatres, in such cities as Silchester and Wroxeter, Caerleon and Chester, York and Lincoln; careful investigation might bring some of them to light.

Thirdly, examination of the Romano-British architecture at Sanxay has shown that not only the forms of building adopted in Gaul varied from the usual Greek and Roman models, but also the ornamentation of the capitals of columns and other decorative art, had assumed a national character, based upon Roman models. Was this also the case in Britain? or was the Romano-Briton who, in the pursuit of eloquence, rivalled, if he did not surpass, the Gaul, inferior to him in invention or in the cultivation of art, and in works of taste?

Fourth, the destruction and total ruin of cities once flourishing and graced with monuments of art, is not limited to Britain. Sanxay reveals to us the manner in which the remains of ruined cities, which have been burned, were treated in after-ages, till those remains no longer provided materials for the lime-kiln or for building purposes. Yet, when these have done their work for centuries, there yet remains enough for history to gather up fragments which, when put together, enable us to revive the memory of places which would otherwise have passed away for ever.

Fifth, the remains discovered at Sanxay have been carefully planned and laid down to scale, as well as photographed, and a museum is to be formed upon the spot. It is to be regretted that more care has not been taken to lay down to scale the buildings uncovered on the site of Roman towns in Britain, or to form museums wherever such remains have been found.

The classical student is greatly indebted to the discoveries of ancient Roman art made at Pompeii, and preserved on the spot or in the Musée Nationale at Naples.

The student of Gallic-Roman history will be equally indebted for those made at Sanxay, and if an accurate estimate of Roman art and civilisation in Britain is to be arrived at, it must be by a careful collection of the inscriptions, and of the remains of art, that have been found in Britain.

APPENDIX III.

METHOD OF APPORTIONMENT OF THE LAND WHEREVER A COLONY WAS PLANTED BY THE ROMANS.

As the Romans planted colonies in Britain the names of which still survive, something should be said about their nature and the apportionment of the territory allotted to them.

Tacitus says of Camulodunum, the first Roman colony established in Britain, "*Colonia deducitur in agros captivos subsidium adversus rebelles, et pro imbuendis sociis ad officia legum.*"¹

Two purposes were, therefore, to be accomplished by planting a colony.

First, the keeping the district where it was planted under control; and, secondly, imbuing their allies with the knowledge and practice of Roman laws; and this would include also the inculcation of their manners and customs. Colonisation ever followed conquest with the Roman people. The land of the

¹ Tacitus, "*Ann.*," xii., 31.

conquered nation became the property of the Roman people. The state was the trustee, and could retain it, or sell it, or grant it to Roman people or their allies. Thus, while Rome extended her conquests, she founded cities with laws and institutions similar to her own, and, as it has been observed, "the world was to be made Roman by the organised transportation of Romans into new countries."¹

The resettlement, therefore, of a country was conducted upon a regular system.

The intention being to establish a certain number of Romans, Latins, or Italians, in a new country, there must be an allotment of land sufficient to maintain the settlement, and this necessitated a previous survey. For this purpose engineers were appointed. The *agrimensores* refer to a measurement of the whole Roman world made by order of Augustus; Theodosius the Younger ordered all the provinces of the Empire to be surveyed in the fifteenth year of his reign.²

A law had been passed by the senate and people in Republican times, and was continued under the Empire; this defined what was necessary, and was called the *Lex Colonica*, and it specified the officers who were to carry it into execution. In the time of the Republic the duty fell on the *triumviri*, in later times military officers acted for the emperors.

The law determined the number of the colonists, decreed the formation of a *civitas*, and settled the nature of the municipal government, whether it should be municipium, prefectura, or conciliabulum. It also assigned a territory, and gave its dimensions, fixed the breadth of the roads, ways, and lanes which should divide the allotted estates one from another; it fixed the acreage of the *centuria*, or estate of the colony. This was usually about 200 or even as much as 240 *jugera*. The *Lex*

¹ Coote's "Rom. of Britain," p. 44.

² See Appian, "Illyrica," chap. i., also "Liber Coloniarum," i., p. 239, 242, and "Itin. Anton." (Godefroy's note to the "Theod. Cod."), xi., p. 353, 354, cited by Mr. Coote, "R.B.," p. 45.

Colonica fixed the quantity of land to be granted to each colonist, or to any number of persons who might unite together to acquire a *centuria* or two or more *centuriæ*.

The same law gave jurisdiction to the municipal authorities over the persons of the colonists, and defined the duties they had to perform. It gave also the power of electing municipal authorities and defined their functions. It also determined the subdivision of the territory, and required that terminal signs should be set up as boundary marks, and required them to be inscribed. Many of these have been found in Britain.

Nor was this assignment of territory confined to cities alone ; it extended to *castella*, or fortified camps on the coast and also inland, such as the stations on the *pretenturæ*, or lines of fortification, drawn across the island.

The commissioners for assigning this territory consisted of a military corps, augurs, *agrimensores*, or land-surveyors, architects, and their assistants.

They began with the demarcation of the territory by the *agrimensor* ; and this was defined, either artificially by roads, stone altars, terminal figures, or artificial mounds called *botontini*,¹ or naturally, by rivers, mountains, brooks, or watercourses.

When the territory was thus marked out, it was next divided into *centuriæ* or estates among the colonists ; and this centuriation was the legal act by which the land was transferred from public possession into private hands.

The process of assignment was conducted thus. The *agrimensor* first divided the territory by a line drawn from east to west, or from right to left, the right being on the north side of the *agrimensor* as he looked westward and the south on the left. He then divided it into two more parts by a line drawn from south to north, and these four divisions were called *regiones*. The point of intersection of the two lines was called the *umbilicus*,

¹ Many of these have been dug into under the idea that they contained interments, and have been discovered to contain nothing but shards and burned wood, which were always placed in them.

or central point, and from this point the principal roads were supposed to commence, and the estate was cut up into rectangular portions.

Some traces of this arrangement may still be observed in those English cities which once were Roman colonies, where the market-place and principal streets have retained their ancient direction.

The lines of ancient road may still be distinctly traced, and it is not difficult to see how these seem to have centered in the forum of each of the principal cities, and may be noted especially at Manchester, the ancient Mancunium,¹ as well as at Uriconium, Londinium, Calleva, and other Roman towns.

The accuracy and care with which the measurements were made and the work carried out is manifested by the centurial stones which note the distances, as well as the company of soldiers by which, or under whose direction, the work was carried out. There is sufficient to show that these measurements were not confined to camps or military works only, but extended to landed possessions. Centurial stones were not always inscribed, but when marked it was either on the top or the side, the latter being accounted the best.² They were also shaped in a peculiar manner where these boundaries met, at a point called *trifinium*. When a single stone was used for this purpose it was triangular in form. Dwarf columns were also used; one of them has lately been found at Carlisle. Wooden stakes were also employed where good stone was not forthcoming, and sometimes piles of stones. These are still used to mark divisions of property in moorland districts. Trees were also used as terminal marks; these were called "*arbores peregrinæ*," and seem to have been planted singly. The rarity of the tree made it distinctive: they were also planted in clumps, and this custom has survived to modern times. The trees marking division of land had also incisions made in the bark, called "*notæ*,"

¹ See "Roman Lancashire," by W. T. Watkin, Esq. 1883.

² See Hyginus, p. 173.

and this incision was in the form of a *cross*, the two intersecting lines denoting the cardinal points. ,

Altars were also set up to mark territorial divisions. These were dedicated to *Silvanus*, and many have been found in Britain.

“ Et te, pater
Silvane, tutor finium.”—HORACE.

Altars were also set up at “*Quadrivia*” or cross-roads, and dedicated to the “*quadrivial*” gods. The country people offered sacrifices upon them, but when the country became Christianised they were succeeded by crosses or crucifixes. We have at the present day the position of many of these boundary marks preserved in the stumps or broken shafts of way-side crosses.

The demarcation of land was not left to external marks alone, whether of stone or wood ; these might be removed or effaced. There was also a system of marking below the surface of the soil. Walled substructures were sometimes built and covered over with hillocks of earth ; these were called “*botontini*,” and marked a boundary, certain indications of their purpose being placed within. On the Mendip Hills in Somersetshire, at Banwell, there is an enclosure of stones in the form of a parallelogram, having also a ditch on the outside, and containing within the area the figure of a cross, reaching to the four sides, which seems to have been the marking of a territorial division : an engraving is given of it in Sir R. C. Hoare’s “*Anc. Wilts, Rom. period.*”

APPENDIX IV.

SPECIMENS OF ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN BRITAIN,
OR PERTAINING TO IT.

INSCRIBED tablets both of stone and metal, which have survived the wreck of time, form such an important element of history, that a few of those discovered in Britain or relating to its early history, and alluded to in the preceding part of this work, may not be inappropriate.

The earliest in date is of the time of Augustus, not found in Britain, but at Ancyra.

· · · · ·
ΠΡΟΣ ΕΜΕ ΙΚΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΦΥΓΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ
· · · · · ΠΑΡΘΩΝ ΜΕΝ
ΤΕΙΡΙΔΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΦΡΑΑΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΦΡΑ[ΑΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΗΔΩΝ Δ]Ε ΑΡΤ · · ·
· · · ΒΡΕΤΑΝ]ΝΩΝ ΔΟΜ[ΝΩΝ ΒΕ]ΛΛΑΥΝΟΣ[ΤΕ
ΚΑΙΤ[ΙΜ]

AD ME SVPLICES CONFVGE[RVNT] REGES PARTHORVM,
TIRIDA[TES ET POSTEA PHRATES]
REGIS PHRATIS [FILIVS] MEDORVM ARTA · · ·
REG]ES BRITANN[ORVM] DAMNO. BELLA [VNVS QVE] ET
TIM · · · [CIMBR]ORVM.
MAELO. MAR[C]OMANORVM. SVEBO. F · · · [AD ME
REX] PARTHORVM.
· · · · ·

The above is a copy of the part of the MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM referred to in chap. ii., as recording the aid and protection which certain British kings had sought of Augustus.

It is the first inscribed record of the connexion of Rome with Britain, as we have no lapidary or bronze tablets so early as the invasion of Julius Cæsar.

C . GAVIO . L . F
 STEL . SILVANO . . .
 DONIS . DONATO . A . DIVO . CLAVDIO
 BELLO . BRITANNICO
 TORQIBVS . ARMILLIS . PHALERIS
 CORONA . AVREA . . .

The above inscription, recorded by Gruter, ccccxvi., i., was found at Turin (see "Mon. Hist. Brit.," cvi.). There is also another recording a similar presentation, of the same date (A.D. 43), found in Switzerland.

IVL . C . F . FABIA . CAMILLO.
 AC . AVG . MAG . TRIB . MIL.
 LEG . IIII . MACED . IAST . PVR.
 ET . CORONA . AVRIA . DONATO.
 AB . TIB . CLAVDIO . CAESARE . AVG.
 GERM . CVM AB EO EVOCATVS
 IN BRITANNIA . MILITASSET . . .

These two inscriptions relate to the conquests of Claudius in Britain, which do not appear to have been easily achieved by his lieutenant, although the emperor himself remained so short a time in Britain, only sixteen days. Suetonius, in his life of Claudius, mentions that the emperor exhibited in the campus martius at Rome the spectacle of the siege and capture of a British oppidum, and the surrender of British kings (see "Vita Claudii").

The following inscription, copied from the stone now placed in the garden wall of the Barbarini Palace at Rome, was found in that city on the spot where formerly had stood the triumphal arch erected by a decree of the Senate to commemorate the British victories of Claudius.

TI . CLAV[DIO . CÆS.]
 AVG[VSTO]
 PONTIFIC [MAX . TR . P . IX]
 COS . VI . IM[P . XVI . PP]
 SENATVS . PO[PVL . Q . R . QVOD]
 REGES . BRIT[ANNIÆ . ABSQ]
 VLLA . IACTV[RA . DOMVERIT]
 GENTESQVE [BARBARAS]
 PRIMVS . INDI[CIO . SVBEGERIT]

The left-hand portion of this interesting inscription, found about A.D. 1650, near the Palazzo Sciarra, is all that remains of the original, the rest is conjecturally restored. The portion included in brackets is the restoration added to the original, as it now stands in the Barbarini Garden. Another is given by Mr. Burn from Donati;¹ but, though somewhat more lengthy, both agree in the main particulars, that the conquest of a portion of Britain by Claudius, and the subjection of British kings, is commemorated on the tablet. The arch was erected at Rome after the return of Claudius from Britain, A.D. 43.²

Another inscription, but of a later date, probably the time of Vespasian or Domitian, was found at Chichester, and is still preserved at Goodwood. It is a tablet of grey marble, but the lettering, though well cut, has suffered through the effect of time. The greater portion, however, is distinct, and reads as follows :—

NEPTVNO . ET . MINERVAE
 TEMPLVM
pro . SALVTE . DO *mus* DIVINAE
ex AVCTORITATE . *ti* . CLAVD
co GIDVBNI . R . LEGATI . AVG . IN . BRIT
colle GIVM . FABRO . ET . QVI . IN . EO
 . . . D . S . D . DONANTE . AREAM
clem ENTE . PVDENTINI . FIL.

¹ See "Rome and the Campagna," p. 323.

² Suet., "Claud.," 17. A coin also of the Emperor Claudius, having a triumphal arch surmounted by an equestrian figure and trophies, and the legend DE . BRITAN., commemorates the British victories. (See Akerman's "Roman Coins," vol. i., p. 156.)

The Italic letters are a restoration.

A temple, dedicated to Neptune and Minerva for the safety of the imperial family (here called *Domus Divina*), was erected by a college of artificers, by the authority of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, king and imperial legate in Britain, out of their own money, Clemens, the son of Pudentinus, having presented the site.

This inscription is very valuable as confirming a passage in Tacitus, who informs us that in Britain certain states which had been reduced into the form of a province were granted to King Cogidubnus, or Cogidumnus, who had remained faithful to the Roman power, it being the policy of Rome to use even kings as instruments for bringing their own people under the dominion of Rome. We have here King Cogidubnus assuming, by permission, the imperial names Tiberius Claudius, and dedicating a temple to Neptune and Minerva for the safety of the imperial house.

Cogidubnus, while retaining the title of Rex, or King, acted also as Imperial Legate.

Among the many inscribed stones found along the line of the Great Northern Barrier, called the Roman Wall, between the Solway and the mouth of the Tyne, is the following.

The first and second lines being imperfect are conjecturally restored, but with sufficient authority for the reading :—

I . O . m . *dolic* HE
 NO *et numinib* VS
 AVG . PRO SALVTE , IMP
 CAESARIS . T . AELI . HADR
 ANTONINI . AVG . PII . P . P .
 ET . LEG . II . AVG .
 M . LIBVRNIVS . FRON
 TO . C . LEG . EIVSDEM
 V . S . L . M .

This dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus for the safety of the Emperor Hadrian and the Second Augustan Legion, which is coupled with his name, by Marcus Liburnius Fronto, a centurion

of the same legion, confirms the statement that Hadrian was the builder of the chief portion of the wall. .

There are also other inscribed stones found along the wall, which give similar testimony. Other altars dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus have been found in Britain.

In chapter xiii., on the construction of Roman roads, mention has been made of the "milliaries," or Roman mile-stones found in Britain. These amount to between fifty and sixty, but the inscriptions are often imperfect. A very perfect one has, however, been found in Wales during the present year (1883), at Gorddinog, near Llanfairfechan. It is a stone pillar, seven feet high and about four feet and a half in circumference, and bears the following inscription¹:—

IMP . CAES . [TRAI]
ANVS . HADRIANVS .
AVG . P . M . TR . P .
P . P . COS . III .
A . KANOVIO
M . P . VIII.

The date of this stone is the same, or nearly the same, as that already given in chapter xiii., which was also put up in the time of Hadrian (some time between A.D. 119 and 138), and marked the distance from Leicester, as this does from CONOVIVM, on the line of Roman road from Chester to Caernarvon.

This recent discovery is the earliest milliary yet found in North or South Wales, and, when compared with that found at Leicester, leads us to suppose that road-making was peculiarly active in the days of Hadrian. A Roman road, crossing the island from east to west, can be traced from Colchester (Colonia Camulodunum), through Leicester (Rataë) to Chester (Deva), and thence through Conovium (Caer Rhun) in Caernarvonshire, to the Menai Strait and Caernarvon.

¹ See "The Academy," March, 1883, No. 565, letter by W. Thompson Watkin, Esq.

Many inscriptions have been found to the Emperor Severus, as well as to his sons Caracalla and Geta. Those to Severus often contain the names of his wife and sons as well, but the name of Geta is mostly effaced. The inscriptions to Severus comprise a period from about A.D. 197 to A.D. 208.

The following, found at Habitancum (Risingham), on the line of the Northumbrian Wall, is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The upper portion has been broken away, but may be restored as follows :—

Imperatore Cesare L. Septimio Severo

Pio, Pertinace, Arabico, adiabenco,

Parthico MAXIMO

COS III AVG et M. Aurelio Antonino Pio, Consule II.

Augustis, et P. Septimio Geta Nobilissimo

Cesare

PORTAM . CVM MVRIS VETVSTATE . DI

LAPSIS . IVSSV . ALFENI . SENICIONIS . V *iri Clarissimi*

COS (*Consularis*) CVRANTE OCLATINIO ADVENTO . PROC *uratore*

AVG *ustorum* NN . (*nostrorum*) . COH . *ors* VANGION *um*

M (*Miliaria*) EQ *uitata*

CVM ÆM *ilio* SALVIANO . TRIB *uno*

SVO A SOLO REST *ituit*

The Italic letters supply the missing portion, and those between the brackets are an expansion of the abbreviated word. In the original there are many *tied* letters, *i.e.* two or three formed from one stem.

The date of the inscription would be A.D. 202. It is interesting as commemorating the restoration of a gateway and wall (of which there are many more instances), showing that the fort must have stood some time and seen some severe contest. Another inscription, built up into the crypt of the church, erected by St. Wilfred at Hexham, in Northumberland, also contains the name of the Emperor Severus with that of Pertinax, his imperial predecessor, added, and that of Caracalla, while the name of Geta has been erased. A portion of the stone

appears to be wanting, the remaining part of the inscription is as follows :—

IMP . CAES . L . SEP
 PERTINAX . ET . IMP . C
 AVR . ANTONIN
 VS (The name and titles of Geta
 are here erased) HORI
 VEXILLATION
 FECERVNT

The letters HOR in the fifth line are supposed to be a portion of the word *Horreum*, and that the building of a granary by the vexillation of Roman forces stationed there is here commemorated.

Many inscriptions have been also found recording the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, commonly known as *Caracalla*, without that of his father's, Severus, and some also to his brother Geta, murdered by him. These may be seen in "C. I. L.," vol. vii.

One found at Ribchester, in Lancashire, the Roman Brementonacum, which was broken, and a portion of which is missing, was dedicated to either Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna, or to Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mammæa.

· · · · ·
 RO · · · · ·
 L . LI . . . (MA)T(R)IS . D . N . ET(C)ASTR . SV(B . C)
 VAL . CRESCENTIS . FVL(VI)ANI . LEG . EIVS . PR (PR)
 T . FLORID . NATALIS . LEG . PRAEP . N̄ . ET . RECT(OR)
 TEMPLVM . A . SOLO . EX . RESPONSV . (RE)
 STITVIT . ET . DEDICAVIT. ¹

"From the occurrence of the words, *Matris domini nostri et castrorum*, it is plain," says Mr. T. Watkin, "that the inscription has been dedicated (in addition probably to a deity) either to Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna, or to Severus

¹ See "Corp. I. Lat.," vol. vii., No. 222, and "Rom. Lancashire," by W. Thompson Watkin, 1883.

Alexander and his mother Julia Mammæa,—the title *Mater Castrorum* having been borne only by these empresses.”

The slab also yields the name of an imperial legate (Governor of Britain), Valerius Crescens Fulvianus, otherwise unknown ; but he appears to have been absent when the inscription was cut, as the *legatus legionis*, Titus Floridus Natalis, is named as restoring and inaugurating the temple referred to in the inscription. Natalis has the title of *Rector*, and was probably the *Legatus* of the Sixth Legion then at York. In the absence of the governor we know from Tacitus (“Hist.,” i., 66), the *Legati Legionum* then *provinciam rexere*.

The words *ex responsu* imply the consultation of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, or some other deity.”¹

Altars with Greek inscriptions have also been found in Britain. Two at Corbridge, of the line of Hadrian's Wall, one dedicated to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, and the Ashtoroth of Scripture ; and another to the Tyrian Hercules. The altar to Astarte is engraved in Dr. Bruce's “Roman Wall,” and in the “Lapidarium.” The inscription is as follows :—

ΑΣΤΑΡΤΗΣ
ΒΩΜΟΝ . Μ'
ΕΣΟΡΑΣ
ΠΟΥΛΑΧΕΡ Μ'
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

“Pulcher set up (or replaced) the altar you behold to Astarte.” It is interesting as showing the worship of the Syrian goddess in Britain.

“Astarte, queen of Heaven, with crescent horns,
To whose bright image nightly by the moon
Sidonian Virgins paid their vows and songs.”

The Greek altar, dedicated to Hercules, bore the following inscription :—

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΤΥΡΙΩ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ

¹ “Rom. Lancashire,” p. 146.

“To the Tyrian Hercules Diodora the High Priestess dedicates this altar.” This is now in the British Museum (see “C. I. L.,” vol. vii., p. 97).

Another Greek altar to Asklepios, or Æsculapius, was found at Ellenborough, near Maryport, Cumberland, with the following inscription :—

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ
Α . ΕΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ
ΠΑΣΤΟΡ . ΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

“To Æsculapius Aulus Egnatius Pastor set up this” (altar) (see “C. I. L.,” vol. vii., p. 85).

A Greek altar, found at Chester, is dedicated by Hermogenes, a physician, to the “Gods, the preservers, the ever-abiding.”

θεοῖς σωτ ἡρσιν
υπερμενεσιν
ερμογενες
ιατρος βωμον
τονδ ανεθηκα.

This altar, among others, bears testimony to the Roman forces in Britain having been supplied with medical officers.

Hermogenes has been supposed to be the physician of Hadrian,¹ and the form of the lettering of this inscription would fix it about that time, but there are many other physicians recorded who bore the same name.

A memorial stone to a physician was found at Borcovicus (Housesteads), a station on the line of the Northumbrian wall. The inscription is as follows :—

D . M.
ANICIO
INGENVO
MEDICO
ORD COH
I. TUNGR
VIX. AN. XXV.

¹ Dio., 69, 22.

The stone is very perfect, and the lettering clear. At the top is a rabbit underneath a wreath, apparently of olive, and the corners are filled with circular shields. This has led to the supposition that Anicius Ingenuus, the physician to whom the stone is erected, was a native of Spain, the rabbit being the emblem of that country. It was placed by the first cohort of the Tungrians, as a mark of respect, and shows that Ingenuus died at the early age of twenty-five years.

Another dedication by a medical officer was discovered three years ago at VINOVIUM (Binchester), near Bishop Auckland, co. Durham.

[AES]CVLAPIO
 [ET] SALVTI
 [PRO SALV]TE ALAE VET
 [TONVM] C . R . M . AVRE
 [L . CRY]S]OCOMAS . ME .
 [V . S .] L . M.

The figures of Æsculapius and Salus are sculptured on this altar. Æsculapius is grasping the left hand of Salus with his right, and his left hand rests on the neck of a serpent.

These two inscriptions are set up, the one by a cohort of Tungrians, and the other by the physician of an ala of Spanish cavalry; but physicians to the legions and prætorian cohorts have been found in other countries; and this shows that the Roman armies were provided with medical officers, and also the Roman fleets.¹

Notices of physicians who attended those Roman emperors who visited Britain have been preserved. Thus Scribonius Largus is stated to have accompanied Claudius,² and Severus was attended by his own physicians, as we learn from Herodian, who also informs us that his unnatural son Caracalla attempted

¹ See "Inscriptiones Regni Neapol. Latinæ," No. 2,701.

² See Sir Thomas Brown's "Hydriotaphia"; also "Histoire de la Médecine," vol. ii., p. 54 (Jourdan's translation), cited by Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., M.D., D.C.L., in his "Archæol. Essays," vol. ii., p. 225.

to induce his father's medical attendants to hasten the emperor's death. Having failed in this, he afterwards, when emperor, caused the physicians to be put to death for not complying with his suggestions.

Several Roman medicine stamps have been found in Britain as well as in other countries under the Roman rule. These usually consist of small quadrilateral or oblong pieces, of a greenish schist or steatite engraved on one or more of their borders. The inscriptions are in small Roman capitals, and read from right to left, so that they were intended to be stamped upon wax or some plastic material, and would then read from left to right. They generally contain the name of the medical practitioner to whom the stamp belonged; then the name of the medicine; and, lastly, the disease for which the medicine was prescribed. Sometimes the direction for using the medicine is added.

Hitherto the Roman medicine stamps discovered contain prescriptions for eye diseases. They seem, therefore, to have been used by oculists alone, and have, therefore, been called "Oculist stamps." Some of these are in the British Museum. A very perfect one was found in Bath (A.D. 1731), having the following inscriptions on the four sides:—

1. T. IVNIANI THALASER
AD CLARITATEM.
2. T. IVNIANI . CRSOMAE
L INUM . AD CLARITATEM.
3. T. IVNIANI D VM
AD . VETERES . CICATRICES.¹
4. T. IVNIANI HOFVSMApDV
EC VMO . DELICTA A MEDICIS.

In the four inscriptions the name of the proprietor or oculist is given,—

Titus IVNIANVS

¹ Letters in a different character (apparently r y x).

The first reads,—

1. Titus Junianus' Thalassar for clearness (of vision).

This seems to have been used for curing vision impaired by cataract or other causes.¹

2. Titus Junianus' Cerusomaelinum (or golden-yellow collyrium) for clearness. The letters CRSO in the second inscribed side admit of more than one interpretation; but probably the best is that here given, which makes it akin to the "Golden Ointment," not unknown at the present day.

3. The word after T. IVNIANVS is read DIEXVM, or DRYXVM, and may signify an astringent collyrium made from the bark, acorn, or galls of the DRYs (δρυς) or oak, which possesses astringent qualities, and was known to the ancients.

4. This line is the most perplexing, as the reading of the letters is not distinct. The best explanation of it appears to be "The phœbum or phorbium of T. Junianus for leucoma, esteemed by the physicians."²

Among the inscribed fragments which remain as illustrations of the Roman occupation of Britain, none are more interesting than the Bronze Tablets which have been found in different localities, and are known generally under the title of *Tabulæ Honestæ Missionis*, or lists of soldiers who have received an honourable discharge from duty, after fulfilling their appointed term of service. They are also called *Military Diplomas*.

These consist of two plates of bronze, which have been joined at their lower extremities, probably by leather thongs, and folded together, so as to render them convenient for carriage. The plates are engraved on the outside as well as the inside, and being in duplicate there could be no doubt as to the correctness of any word. They show the right of each indi-

¹ See Galen, vol. xii., p. 781; also Sir J. Y. Simpson's "Essays," vol. ii., p. 257.

² See Sir J. Y. Simpson's "Essay on Ancient Roman Medicine Stamps."

vidual whose name appears, to the privilege of citizenship with the right of marriage.

The lettering on the outside is generally more clear and neat than on the inside. They begin by giving at full length the names, titles, and genealogy of the emperor by whom the decree is issued. Then follow the names of the troops on whom the privilege is confirmed. *Alæ* or cavalry regiments are first mentioned, then *cohortes* or infantry. Both are given in numerical order. Next follows the place where they were serving, and then the stipulation that only those receive the right of citizenship who have completed at least twenty-five campaigns.

With the right of citizenship is conferred the right of marriage, or the marriages already contracted are rendered legal. It is also declared that the children of such marriages are free, but it is stipulated that each man must have only one wife at a time.

Next follows the date of the decree, with the names of the consuls, and after that the name of the soldier to whom the diploma is directed.

There is also a statement of the place where the original document is lodged for inspection; and lastly come the names of seven witnesses who testify to the fidelity of the copy.

It is believed that an abridged copy of the decree was sent to each individual named in it, by whom it would be preserved for the benefit of his descendants.

Sixty of these documents have as yet been discovered within the limit of the Roman empire, and five of that number in Britain.

Of those found in Britain, two belong to the reign of the Emperor Trajan, and one to that of Hadrian. The earliest was found at Malpas, in Cheshire, the date being A.D. 104. A fragment of one was found at Walcot, near Bath (A.D. 1815), which having been lost for some time has lately been recovered, and is now in the Museum of the Literary and Scientific Institution at Huntingdon.

The last discovered was in June, 1880, at CILURNUM

(Chesters), on the line of the Roman wall, the property of John Clayton, Esq., who, in the course of excavating the southern gateway of that station, came upon the tablet of which the following is a copy :—

INSIDE.

*Imp . Caes . divi . HADRIANI . f . divi . Trajani . part
divi . Nervæ . PRON . Aelius Hadrianus An-
TONINUS . aug . PIVS . pont . max . tr . pot . viiii Imp . ii . COS .
Iiii . p p .
EQ . ET . PED . qui . mil . in . al . iii . et coh . xi . q . a . aug .
GAL . PROC . ET . I et . i . hisp . astur . et . i .
CELT . ET . I . HISP . ET . i . ael . dacor . et . i . ael . classica .
ET . I . FID . ET . II . GAL . et . ii . et . vi . Nervior . et . iii .
BRAC . ET . IIII . LING . et . iii . Gallor . et sunt in
BRITTAN . SVB . PAPIRIO . Aeliano . quinque . et . vig . stip .
EMERIT . M . HON . Missione . quorum . nomina . subscripta .
SUNT . C . R . QUI . EORVM . non . haberent . dedit . et .
CONVB . CVM . VXORIBUS . quas . tunc . habuissent .
CVM . EST . CIV . IIS . Data .*

OUTSIDE.

*Imp . CAESAR . DIVI . HADRIANI . F . DIVI .
Trajani . PART . NEPOS . DIVI . NERVAE . PRO .
Nep . T . aELIVS . HADRIANUS . ANTONINVS .
Aug . pius . PONT . MAX . TR . POT . VIIII . IMP . II . COS IIII .
p . p . equit . et . p . EDIT . QUI . MILITAVER . IN . ALIS . III
et . cohort XI . quæ . APPELL . AUG . GALL . PROCVL . ET . I .
. ET . I . HISP . ASTVR . ET I . CELTIB
et . i . hisp . et . i . AELIA . DACOR . ET . AELIA
CLASSICA . et . i . fid . VARD . ET . II . GALLOR . ET . II . ET
VI . NERVior . et . iii . BRAC . ET . IIII . LING . ET . IIII . GALL .
ET . SUNT . IN . BRITTANNIA . SUB . PAPIRIO . AELI
ANO . QUINQUE . et . viginti . STIPEND . EMERIT .
.*

The parts of this diploma which are wanting are chiefly formal parts which can be supplied from other diplomas. The

remainder would have given the time at which the edict was issued, also the names of the consuls for the year. We can, however, from the mention of Antoninus Pius, and his tribunate and consulship, fix the date to A.D. 146.

These are examples of some of the Roman inscriptions which have been found in Britain. Happily, the great work under the direction of Mommsen, the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," vol. vii., has classified and arranged according to counties all that have yet been recorded nearly up to the present time, and those recently found are being recorded in the "addimenta." From the study of these inscriptions much insight may be gained into the history and internal arrangements of the Roman occupation, as well as into the mythology and domestic habits.

IN Chapter xviii. some account has been given of the mining operations of the Romans, and many masses of lead bearing the imperial stamp have been found, either at the Roman workings or on the lines of road leading to the ports whence they were exported to the Continent. The earliest bears the stamp of Claudius (A.D. 49) :—

TI . CLAVDIVS . CAESAR . AUG . P . M .
 TRIB . P . VIII . IMP . XVI . DE . BRITAN .

This was found at Wookey Cavern, near Wells, in the Mendip Hills, in the time of Henry VIII. Another of the same date has the stamp :—

BRITANNICI AVG . FI .

It was found along the same line of hills, near Blagdon.

Another, not recorded in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," having been found in 1876, since that work was published in 1873, has the stamp of the Emperor Vespasian on the upper surface (A.D. 70) :—

IMP . VESPASIAN . AVG .

and on the sloping side :—

BRIT . EX . ARG . VE

indicating that it was cast from a silver-bearing vein.

This was found, together with another bearing the stamp of Vespasian, at Charterhouse, on Mendip.

And a third at the same place, having the stamp :—

IMP . CAES . ANTONINI . AVG . PII . PP.

The weight of this is 223 lb., the heaviest yet found.

More than twenty have been found in various parts of Britain, and the dates extend from the conquest of Claudius to the time of the Antonines, and probably later, as some inscriptions are imperfect.

For an interesting dissertation upon the inscribed blocks of lead found in Britain, see “*Britanno-Roman Inscriptions*,” by the Rev. J. McCaul, LL.D., p. 32.



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THE END.

ERRATA.

- Page 36, line 24*, for "Catavellauni" read "Catuvellauni."
 ,, 59, ,, 25, for "Brocarium" read "Brocavium."
 ,, 61, ,, 14, for "Crammond" read "Cramond."
 ,, 73, ,, 8 from foot, for "Pas d' Ecluse" read "Pas de l'Ecluse."
 ,, 134, ,, 28, sentence should read thus: "Some of the stations on the lines of Roman road take their names from bridges."
 ,, 138, ,, 9, read "Stretton" instead of "Stretten"; and 7th line from foot, after "Leintwarden" add "and so."
 ,, 139, ,, 9, for "Bridden" read "Briedden."
 ,, 146, ,, 15, for "Augustus" read "Claudius."
 ,, 173, ,, 5, alter thus:—"heads, and tweezers likewise for eradicating the hair from the human body, a practice very common among the Romans."
 ,, 174, ,, 6, after "or" add "on."
 ,, 185, ,, 15, alter thus:—"done on the lines of the fortified wall in Northumberland and in Scotland, by the different cohorts."

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